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ELEMENTS

OF

GENERAL HISTORY.

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OF THE

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ELEMENTS

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OF
GENERAL HISTORY.

THIRTEENTH EPOCHA.

The HOUSE *of* AUSTRIA *humbled.—The* PARLIAMENT *of* ENGLAND *gives Law to the Sovereign.*

[From the Year 1624, to the Beginning of the Reign of Louis XIV.]

CHAP. I.

First Years of RICHELIEU'S MINISTRY.—*Taking of* ROCHELLE.—CABALS *and* REBELLIONS.

A NEW ſyſtem of policy is now ready to diſcloſe itſelf, and change the face of Europe. A ſuperiour genius governing the French monarchy, ruling the weak king with abſolute dominion, bending the audacity of the Calviniſts and the ſeditious ambition of the grandees to the yoke, will

General idea of this epocha.

aſtoniſh the world by the greatneſs of his enterpriſes; he will ſhed rivers of blood, he will rule with a rod of iron, render France miſerable, and be dreaded and hated as much as admired; but his miniſtry will make one of the principal epochas in hiſtory, by the revolutions and celebrated events which it will produce. The moſt brilliant, even the moſt neceſſary parts of hiſtory, are ſeldom any thing but dreadful tragedy.

1624. How Richelieu roſe to the miniſtry.

Richelieu, biſhop of Luçon, for ſeveral years aſpired to the government. Being a creature of Concini, and involved in his diſgrace, he had put on a maſk of indifference, and even piety, which impoſed only on thoſe who did not know him. By making peace between the queen mother and Louis XIII. (1619) he had procured for himſelf a cardinal's hat; and Mary Medici having recovered her ſeat in the council, uſed her utmoſt endeavours to procure admittance for him, though the king had excluded him by an expreſs ſtipulation. That devout prince was not only ſhocked by the gallantries of the cardinal, but dreaded his ambitious temper, and the ſuperiority of his genius; yet he yielded to the queen's importunities, though reſolved not to entruſt the authority with a man of ſuch a character. Richelieu gave out, that his ill ſtate of health made him unable to go through the fatigue of buſineſs; but it was not long before he pulled off the maſk, and the ſpeedy diſgrace of two miniſters, who oppoſed him, was a prognoſtick of that abſolute authority which he was deſirous to aſſume. He became

prime

prime miniſter and all powerful only in 1629; but from his firſt entrance into the council, he had the chief influence in all affairs.

The miniſtry no more acted at random, without any fixed aim, nor with a weakneſs that rendered it contemptible. The ſtate of Europe was conſidered, in which it was ſeen that France ought to intereſt herſelf; and the plan of Henry IV. was reſumed, to curb the power of the houſe of Auſtria, which Ferdinand II. was every day rendering more formidable; negotiations were carried on in the different courts, and preparations made for vigorous enterpriſes. The ſucceſs of theſe might have been inſured by a good ſyſtem of economy; but Richelieu was of a character entirely different from Sulli. Haughty, unjuſt, and tyrannical; through the whole courſe of his adminiſtration he neglected the principal reſources of the ſtate, thoſe which a mild and prudent government finds in the happineſs and affection of the ſubjects.

Great political views, but no economy.

James I. ſuffered himſelf to be drawn into the political ſchemes of Richelieu. That weak monarch, with a view to reſtore the elector palatine, his ſon in law, had long negotiated a treaty of marriage between his ſon (Charles I.) and the infanta of Spain, notwithſtanding the averſion of the Engliſh from an alliance with that country. Young Charles, impatient of the delays, by the advice of Buckingham, and accompanied by that raſh favourite, had executed the romantick project of going to pay his court to that princeſs in perſon. He had pleaſed, attracted eſteem, and the affair ſeemed to be concluded; when the

Negotiations for the marriage of the prince of Wales with the infanta.

duke of Buckingham, having drawn upon himself the hatred of the Spaniards by his insolence and debauchery, gave the prince of Wales a disgust to the match, took him out of the country, caused the whole negotiation to be broken off, and rendered a war unavoidable, of which James could not even bear the thoughts. The court of France taking advantage of this conjuncture, gave Henrietta, sister of Louis XIII. to Charles, with eight hundred thousand crowns for her portion. Thus did England become an enemy to the house of Austria.

England allied to France.

James died the following year (1625) amidst the vexations given him both by this rupture and the attempts made upon his prerogative within the kingdom. A new parliament had a little before abolished all monopolies. The bill declared, that—*every subject may freely dispose of his own actions, provided they be not injurious to any other person; and that this right can be limited by no authority except the laws.* Charles I. who inherited the principles of his father, and like him was guided by the counsels of Buckingham, began in troubles an unfortunate reign, which he was destined to end upon a scaffold.

Death of James I.

Remarkable bill.

The war of the Valteline gave an early proof of the vigour of the French ministry. That small province, which was subject to the Grisons, having risen in rebellion, solicited the assistance of the Spaniards; and as the Valtelines were catholicks, and the Grisons protestants, the court of Madrid coloured their intention of keeping it, with the religious pretext of securing it from

Affair of the Valteline.

from the ravages of hereſy: Accordingly ſome fortreſſes were erected in it by the governour of the Milaneſe, and a communication was by that means opened with Germany. Soon after this enterpriſe, Spain, by a treaty concluded with France in 1621, obliged herſelf to reſtore the Valteline to the Griſons, but the treaty was not carried into execution; and though negotiations were again ſet on foot, they ended only in ſequeſtrating the fortreſſes of that province in the hands of the pope. But when Richelieu became miniſter, he took a ſhort method to get over the difficulties, by entering into a league with Venice and the duke of Savoy; after which a French army drove out the garriſons of Urban VIII. and reſtored matters to their former condition. From that time Europe reckoned that the court of France was rouſing from its lethargy. Another league was concluded with Holland, which, after the expiration of the truce in 1621, had again been attacked. However, Spinola found means to force Breda, after a ſiege of ten months.

1625. France puts an end to it with vigour.

League with Holland.

The Huguenots, who were always injured and always ſeditious, having again taken arms, Richelieu reſolved to break their power; but the circumſtances were not yet ripe. Though their fleet had been defeated, and they were driven out of the iſle of Rhée, they obtained the ſame advantageous terms of peace as before. The cardinal, to uſe his own expreſſion, thought that he muſt *again give the world occaſion of ſcandal*, that he might act with vigour againſt the houſe of Auſtria. Virulent libels were publiſhed againſt him, in which he was ſtyled the

Peace with the Huguenots.

Richelieu treated with ſcurrility, but ſteady in his projects.

the *patriarch of the atheiſts*; but though he was too much affected with thoſe contemptible pieces of ribaldry, he purſued his plan with ardour. He had already filled the great men of the kingdom with apprehenſions, by his attempts to bring them under obedience; defied the reſentment of Gaſton, duke of Orleans, the king's brother; and not only intrigues, but conſpiracies were formed againſt him. Never had miniſter ſo many enemies or difficulties to encounter; but theſe only ſerved to give vigour to his genius; and the ambition to which he was a prey, inſpired him with a courage that neceſſarily ſurmounted all oppoſition.

1627. Buckingham arms England in favour of the Huguenots.

His vaſt political deſigns might be obſtructed by the commotions of the Huguenots, but their ruin was haſtened by a ſudden rupture between England and France. Ever ſince the marriage of Charles I. with Henrietta, the inconſiderate zeal of the catholicks, who had been attached to the ſervice of the queen, had ſecretly irritated the nation; but the diſcontent had only ſhewed itſelf in murmurs, when Buckingham engaged the kingdom in the quarrel of the Calviniſts, in order to gratify a fooliſh paſſion. That imprudent miniſter being deſirous of paying another viſit to the queen of France, Anne of Auſtria, with whom he had the inſolence to fall in love, had taken a journey into that country, under pretence of ſigning a treaty againſt Spain: But the cardinal being informed of his ſentiments, cauſed him to be denied admittance at court; when, out of reſentment for this refuſal, and jealouſy of the cardinal, he determined his

maſte-

maſter in favour of the Huguenots, who were projecting a new rebellion. Charles entered upon this unneceſſary war in very critical circumſtances, while the parliament was making warm oppoſition to the regal power, and truſted the management of it to his miniſter, who, from incapacity, miſcarried in the firſt campaign. Thus do ridiculous caprices become the ſpring which ſets governments in motion, and a wrong choice expoſes princes to irreparable misfortunes.

Richelieu beſieges Rochelle. A memorable ſiege.

Richelieu then executed one of the moſt glorious enterpriſes in his miniſtry. He attacked Rochelle, the bulwark of the Huguenots, ſhut up the port againſt the Engliſh, by a dyke which was amazingly conſtructed in the ſea, and commanded the troops in perſon, with all the valour and ſkill of an accompliſhed general. In vain did the mayor Guiton, ſhewing a dagger and laying it upon the council table, declare, that with that dagger he would ſtab the firſt who ſpoke a word of ſurrendering. In vain did the two dutcheſſes of Rohan animate the fanatical courage of the beſieged by their example. Buckingham, who was on the point of ſetting ſail with a new fleet, having been aſſaſſinated, the Engliſh arrived too late, and were repulſed before the dyke. After eleven months reſiſtance, the inhabitants of Rochelle, exhauſted by all the horrours of famine and war, were conſtrained to ſubmit. They loſt their privileges; their fortifications were deſtroyed; but, at leaſt, they were left in poſſeſſion of their property, and liberty of conſcience.

1628. The town ſurrenders at the end of eleven months.

This

Difficulties of that conqueſt.

This conqueſt coſt forty millions. Louis XIII. aſſiſted ſeveral months at the ſiege, and expoſed himſelf to danger with heroick bravery. In perſonal courage he was equal to Henry IV. though ſo much his inferiour in every other reſpect. However, Richelieu boaſted that he had taken Rochelle, maugre the oppoſition of the king of Spain, the king of England, and the king of France: In fact, the jealous and ambitious lords had uſed their utmoſt endeavours to thwart him with the king, and though the court of Madrid had engaged to ſecond him againſt the Calviniſts, their fleet appeared without doing any thing. It is ſaid to have retired under a frivolous pretext, only becauſe Louis refuſed to the admiral the privilege of being covered in his preſence. It is more probable that the admiral had orders not to act.

Peace with the Calviniſts, who preſerve their religious liberty.

The religious war was terminated in the following year, (1629) when the duke of Rohan obtained advantageous terms, as he had always done. The Calviniſts preſerved the publick exerciſe of their worſhip. By loſing their fortreſſes, they loſt the dangerous facility of ſupporting a civil war. If no tyranny was exerciſed againſt their conſciences, they might become good ſubjects; and Richelieu was a man of too great abilities to rekindle a fanaticiſm which would naturally die away in a calm.

War of Mantua glorious to France.

Before the end of this war, another was begun in Italy, to ſecure the ſucceſſion of Mantua to Charles Gonzago, duke of Nevers, lawful heir of the laſt duke Vincent, who died in 1627. He was oppoſed by the emperour, the king

king of Spain, Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, and almoſt all the ſtates of Italy: But the arms of France were triumphant. Louis put himſelf at the head of an army, glorioufly forced the paſs of Suſa, compelled the duke of Savoy to join him, obliged the Spaniards to raiſe the ſiege of Caſal, and returned to combat the Huguenots. In the ſecond campaign, (1629) Richelieu, who was named prime miniſter with unlimited power, ſignalized his military ſkill. Charles Emanuel, who had broken his engagements, being preſſed on every ſide, and his fortreſſes taken, died of vexation. But without deſcending to particulars, let us content ourſelves with obſerving, that, at the end of the year 1630, the Imperialiſts evacuated Mantua, of which they had taken poſſeſſion.

The two queens fruitleſsly attempt the ruin of Richelieu.

If the French miniſter had at heart the glory of the ſtate, on which his own depended, he was no leſs attentive to ſupport his own fortune againſt the cabals that were perpetually ſpringing up. By giving the king an opportunity for exerciſing his courage in the war of Italy, he thought that he had freed himſelf from the uneaſineſs given him by the court intrigues. But Louis falling ſick in Savoy, and returning to Lyons, where his diſtemper became very dangerous, the two queens, Mary Medici and Anne of Auſtria, took advantage of his weakneſs, and determined him to ruin the cardinal: But after the king's recovery, the miniſter found means to diſpel the ſtorm, which notwithſtanding ſoon broke out afreſh with redoubled violence. He already thought of retiring,

tiring, and was contriving means to ſecure his treaſures, when he luckily found an opportunity of coming to an explanation with Louis; and the firſt converſation produced a total change. Such is the influence which genius can acquire over a weak mind!

He revenges himſelf on Marillac, and even on the queen mother.

The miniſter's revenge was equal to his power. He impriſoned Marillac, the keeper of the ſeals; arreſted his brother the mareſchal de Marillac, who then commanded the army in Piedmont, a nobleman reſpectable for his ſervices, and cauſed him to be tried by commiſſioners, who were rather the inſtruments of his paſſion than miniſters of juſtice. The indictment turned upon ſome abuſes in the command of the army, which were then but too common; and the mareſchal loſt his life on a ſcaffold. The queen mother herſelf fell a ſacrifice, and was ſent priſoner to Compeigne, whence ſhe made her eſcape to Bruſſels, where ſhe lived in want even of neceſſaries.

Revolt of Gaſton.

Gaſton, the king's brother, retired to Lorraine, to ſecure himſelf, as he ſaid, from tyranny; and his attendants were declared guilty of high treaſon. Soon after he took arms, and drew the mareſchal de Montmorenci into his rebellion, which was followed by new acts of

Montmorenci is beheaded.

vengeance. The brave Montmorenci, who a little before had beaten the Imperialiſts, the Spaniards, and the duke of Savoy's troops at Vegliana; who was univerſally beloved; whoſe pardon every man wiſhed for, and whoſe repentance deſerved clemency, was mercileſsly given up to the executioner. Neither the king

nor

nor the miniſter had any idea of gaining men's hearts by forgiving.

While theſe dreadful executions were multiplied in France, and, in ſome meaſure, revived the reign of Louis XI. Richelieu fomented the famous war in Germany, of which it is now time to trace the progreſs.

CHAP. II.

FERDINAND II. *diſguſts the* GERMANS *by his Deſpotiſm.—State of the North.—*GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS *united with* FRANCE.—*Events of this War till* 1635.

By what means Ferdinand had made himſelf formidable to Germany.

WE have ſeen the emperour Ferdinand II. following the ſteps of Charles V. openly attacking the Germanick liberty, depriving the elector Palatine of his dominions, conferring that electorate on the duke of Bavaria, cruſhing the proteſtant league, and ſpreading terrour on every ſide, by means of his generals. But his deſpotiſm, his ambition, and even his ſucceſſes, were leſs calculated to make him maſter of Germany, than to ſtir up enemies againſt him; and he was doomed one day to feel, that cruſhing the one was arming the other.

Chriſtian IV. made war againſt him for ſome time.

Chriſtian IV. king of Denmark, a prince inſtructed in the ſciences, brave, and fond of glory; in league with France, England, and Holland; general of the circle of Lower Saxony, of which he was a member, in quality of duke of Holſtein; for ſome years defended the cauſe of the

Mansfeld.

the unhappy Frederick; and the celebrated Mansfeld, who, having retired into Holland, increaſed his reputation by obliging Spinola to raiſe the ſiege of Bergen op Zoom, had afterwards attached himſelf to the ſervice of Chriſtian.

Tilli, Walſtein.

But Ferdinand's generals, Tilli and Walſtein, joined to the moſt uncommon capacity a force too much ſuperiour to their opponents.

Peace with Denmark.

The king of Denmark, after ſeeing the enemy in his country, made peace in 1629, upon advantageous terms, agreeably to the wiſhes of Walſtein, who by this means hoped to keep poſſeſſion of the dutchy of Mecklenburgh, which had been lately granted him by the emperour.

New acts of deſpotiſm by Ferdinand.

Putting the dukes of Mecklenburgh and Mantua under the ban of the empire, and the nomination of an archduke to the ſee of Magdeburgh, though there was a coadjutor of the houſe of Saxony, were new ſtrokes of Ferdinand's deſpotick authority; which he ſeemed to carry to the utmoſt height, by his edict of 1629,

Edict againſt the proteſtants.

ordering the proteſtants, without diſtinction, to reſtore the eccleſiaſtical lands, of which they had been in poſſeſſion ever ſince the year 1555, and permitting the catholick princes to drive out the proteſtants who were ſettled in their dominions; the whole under penalty of the ban of the empire to whoever ſhould oppoſe the execution of that edict.

The ſpirit of liberty revived in the ſtates.

So violent a proceeding neceſſarily inſpired the greater alarms, as the emperour's troops, to the number of one hundred and ſixty thouſand men, were laying waſte the country, and committing dreadful acts of extortion, while the

ſtates

ſtates groaned under the arbitrary impoſts which he levied. According to M. Pfeffel, the margraviate of Brandenburgh alone had paid twenty millions of crowns in leſs than four years. Ferdinand's views are expreſſed by a famous ſaying of Walſtein, who uſed frequently to repeat, that—*The electors muſt be reduced to the condition of the Spaniſh grandees, and the biſhops to the rank of chaplains to the emperour.*

Apprehenſions of the empire.

But at laſt men's eyes were opened. Even the princes of the catholick league perceived the yoke with which they were threatened as well as the others. They aſſembled at Heidelberg, from whence they ſent a deputation to the emperour, praying him to reſtore the peace of the empire, to diſmiſs part of his troops, and to put an end to the grievances of the ſtates. The electoral diet which was held at Ratiſbon the following year 1630, ſhewed the diſpoſition of men's minds in the cleareſt light. This meeting, before it granted any thing, inſiſted on the diſbanding of ſixteen thouſand cuiraſſiers, and the diſmiſſion of Walſtein, who commanded with abſolute power; and to this Ferdinand conſented, thinking that he could inſure ſucceſs to his demands. But every thing was refuſed him; not only the ſuccours which he required for the war, but the title of king of the Romans for his ſon. This was a ſalutary leſſon, if he would have taken counſel from experience.

Diet at Ratiſbon thwarts the emperour.

Diſcontents raiſed by the edict of reſtitution.

However, the edict of *reſtitution* was rigorouſly put in execution. Except the elector of Saxony and the margrave of Brandenburgh, all

all the proteſtant princes ſubmitted, as they had neither the courage nor the power to reſiſt. They teſtified their diſcontent only by complaints, and the murmurs grew to ſuch a height, that the elector of Bavaria propoſed to let that fatal edict *ſleep* forty years. The emperour, on the contrary, would liſten to nothing, and redoubled his violences; but the time was come when the liberty of Germany was to find an avenger in Guſtavus Adolphus. To be well acquainted with this hero, it is neceſſary to have ſome idea of the ſtate of the North, and eſpecially of Sweden, at that period.

Nothing intereſting in the North ſince the time of Guſtavus Vaſa.

From the time of Guſtavus Vaſa we meet with ſcarcely any thing intereſting in the North. Neither the wars of the Danes, Swedes, Poles, and Muſcovites againſt one another, nor the revolutions that happened in thoſe countries, where the ſceptre paſſed from hand to hand at the pleaſure of the ſtrongeſt, have any connexion with the general ſyſtem of Europe. Let us obſerve in a few words the moſt remarkable facts.

Erick depoſed in Sweden.

Erick, ſon of Guſtavus Vaſa, having loſt his crown and liberty by a ſentence of the ſtates of Sweden, which found him guilty of ſeveral crimes, his brother John was ſubſtituted in his place, who attempted in vain to reſtore the catholick religion, which he profeſſed. He died in 1592. It is remarked, that he had no phyſician; ſo totally were the arts ſtill unknown in that country. Sigiſmond, ſon of John, who ſome years before had been elected king of Poland, joined his paternal dominions to that crown;

John, a catholick, unſucceſsful.

Sigiſmond depoſed on account of his zeal for the catholick religion.

crown; but his too great zeal for the catholick religion drawing on him the hatred of the Swedes, who were zealous Lutherans, he was depoſed, and Charles IX. his uncle, put in his room. The Poles engaged in a war for Sigiſmond, but without ſucceſs; Charles kept the crown till his death, and in 1611 was ſucceeded by his ſon, the famous Guſtavus Adolphus.

Charles IX. father of Guſtavus Adolphus.

This was the time when Ruſſia fell a prey to civil wars. The czar Theodore had given orders to put to death his brother Demetrius, and was himſelf poiſoned, or at leaſt is imagined to have been poiſoned, by his brother in law Borris, who had adviſed him to commit the murder, and ſucceeded to the crown. Soon after came from Lithuania a young man, who affirmed that he was prince Demetrius; and being ſupported by a Poliſh army, cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged. But his court being filled with foreigners and catholicks, he ſoon became an object of deteſtation to the Ruſſians; when Zuſki, a nobleman of diſtinction, having raiſed a rebellion, ſlew him, and placed himſelf upon the throne; but another impoſtor appearing, (who called himſelf the true Demetrius, and claimed the crown as ſuch) and marching towards Moſcow with the troops of Sigiſmond king of Poland, the boyards, or Ruſſian lords, dethroned Zuſki; but, notwithſtanding, refuſed to acknowledge the pretender, who fell by the hands of aſſaſſins. Other counterfeits, perſonating Demetrius, appeared upon the ſtage, and ſtained it with blood. Ruſſia, immerſed in barbarity at that time, preſented only dreadful ſpectacles,

Revolutions in Ruſſia.

Several counterfeits perſonate Demetrius.

ſpectacles, to which poliſhed nations paid little attention.

Glorious beginnings of Guſtavus Adolphus.

But young Guſtavus Adolphus ſhewed himſelf worthy of attracting the attention of all Europe. Scarce was he ſeated on the throne, when he ſignalized himſelf againſt the Danes, who were enemies to his crown. Afterwards, taking advantage of the peace, of which he ſtood in need, he applied himſelf to the duties of government, and remedied the publick evils by judicious laws and a wiſe adminiſtration. In a war againſt the Ruſſians he conquered almoſt all Finland, which was ſecured to him by a treaty. The king of Poland treating him as an uſurper, and refuſing the peace which he always offered with arms in his hands, he marched victorious into Pruſſia, Livonia, and Lithuania; after which a truce of ſix years, concluded with Sigiſmond in 1629, enabled him to turn his arms againſt Ferdinand II.

Motives which induced him to the war againſt Ferdinand.

To this ſtep he was determined by ſeveral motives. The emperour had encouraged and ſuccoured the king of Poland, diſmiſſed the Swediſh ambaſſadours with contempt, and formed a project for acquiring the dominion of the Baltick Sea. The tranquillity of Europe, the liberty of Germany, the intereſt of the proteſtant religion, all contributed to furniſh reaſons or pretences for a war: Fewer motives were ſufficient to inflame the heart of a hero.

1631. Treaty between France and Sweden.

Luckily his political talents were equal to his courage. He negotiated alliances with all the powers; and cardinal Richelieu eagerly embraced an opportunity ſo correſpondent to his own

own views. At the beginning of the year 1631, was concluded the famous treaty between the two crowns, by which Guſtavus obliged himſelf to keep up an army of thirty ſix thouſand men, and Louis XIII. engaged to pay him twelve hundred thouſand livres annually. This ſubſidy was very ſmall for ſuch an enterpriſe; but the king of Sweden's principal reſources were in his own genius and talents.

Great qualities of Guſtavus.

Active, indefatigable, prudent, and intrepid, this prince was a perfect maſter of the art of war. He took his meaſures with conſummate prudence, put them in execution with aſtoniſhing vigour, kept his troops in the ſtricteſt diſcipline, animated them by his example, captivated them by his generous bounty, and, in a word, inſpired them with his own heroiſm. Officers and ſoldiers were eager to defy all dangers for his ſake. He was then thirty five years of age, and had all the experience of an old general. His army, which at firſt conſiſted of only fifteen thouſand men, was ſoon increaſed to forty thouſand; crowds flocking from every quarter to range themſelves under his ſtandards.

Aſtoniſhing ſucceſs of his firſt campaign.

Having made himſelf maſter of the iſles of Ruden, Rugen, &c. Pomerania and Mecklenburgh, he took Francfort on the Oder by aſſault; ſecured Brandenburgh by a treaty with the elector; prevailed on the elector of Saxony, who was attacked by the imperialiſts, to give him the command of his troops; attacked Tilli before Leipſick, and with his Swedes gained a victory ſo much the more glorious, as the Saxons were routed at the firſt onſet. Three

months after this battle, Franconia, Suabia, the Upper Rhine, and even the Palatinate, were in the power of the conqueror.

The proteſtants had at firſt refuſed to join him, though in a general aſſembly held at Leipſick they had agreed to require, with their ſwords in their hands, the reeſtabliſhment of the liberties of the empire, and the abolition of the edict concerning the church lands. But the ſucceſs of his arms, and the emperour's affected delays, had at laſt determined them to adopt the meaſure which was moſt to their advantage. He even did not neglect to excite the zeal for religion, which is always of ſuch efficacious influence.

The proteſtants join him after a refuſal.

This campaign paved the way for new triumphs the following year. Count Tilli had again entered Franconia; but Guſtavus drove him back as far as Bavaria, and, after taking Donawert, ſwam his army over the Lech, in his preſence. In the defence of the paſſage fell Tilli, an illuſtrious man, but who had a ſhort time before tarniſhed his glory, by delivering up Magdeburg to all the barbarities which an unbridled ſoldiery, deſtitute of honour, is capable of committing. Thirty thouſand inhabitants loſt their lives on that occaſion, and the flames devoured what the ſword could not deſtroy.

1634. Second campaign.

Tilli ſlain. He had tarniſhed his glory at Magdeburg.

Walſtein still remained to the emperour. Being reſtored to the command with unlimited power (for he inſiſted upon that condition) he joined the army in Bavaria; repulſed Guſtavus, who attacked him in his intrenchments near Nuremberg;

Walſtein repulſes the Swedes.

Nuremberg; recovered Bohemia, which had been conquered by the Saxons; and invaded Saxony, where he took Leipſick. The king of Sweden flew to the aſſiſtance of the elector; but the battle of Lutzen, near Leipſick, put an end to the career of the great Guſtavus. He was ſlain in the battle, either by treachery, as was rumoured, or by the enemy; but duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar, his lieutenant general, gained a complete victory.

Battle of Lutzen, where Guſtavus was ſlain.

Thus died a virtuous hero, who ought not to be confounded with the deſtroyers of mankind. The book written by Grotius, on the *Right of War and Peace*, was found in his tent, and he had made it his ordinary ſtudy. Another conqueror would have deteſted this work, which defends the rights of nature againſt the injuſtice and cruelty of its oppreſſors. The blood ſpilt by Guſtavus Adolphus is to be imputed to Ferdinand. He was ſucceeded by his daughter Chriſtina, then only ſix years of age; and the government was managed by the chancellor Oxenſtiern.

He reliſhed the doctrine of Grotius.

At Vienna and Madrid publick rejoicings were made for an event, doubtleſs fortunate to the houſe of Auſtria, but which theſe very rejoicings turned to its ſhame. Philip IV. did not bluſh to be preſent at a burleſque piece, called—*The Death of the King of Sweden*. It is true, that in all ages and nations the populace have been guilty of ſimilar exceſſes: But they are not, on that account, leſs unbecoming in the better ſort; and can they be excuſed in a

Shameful rejoicings for the death of that prince.

prince? What idea of decency could men entertain at that time?

1633. Rivalſhip between the elector of Saxony and Oxenſtiern.

The death of the king of Sweden, by introducing diviſions, well nigh ruined the affairs of the proteſtants, notwithſtanding their victory, the elector of Saxony and the chancellor Oxenſtiern, each claiming the ſuperiority: But at laſt it was determined, that the war ſhould be continued till the perpetual eſtabliſhment of the Germanick freedom and liberty of conſcience; that affairs ſhould be under the direction of the chancellor; and that none of the parties ſhould enter into any treaty of accommodation, without the unanimous conſent of the confederates. The elector of Saxony ſingly proteſted againſt a deciſion favourable to the Swedes, and Oxenſtiern ſhewed himſelf worthy of the general confidence, by reſtoring the conqueſts made by Guſtavus in the Palatinate to the children of the unfortunate Frederick V. who was lately dead. He renewed the alliance with France, which was then diſturbed by civil wars, between the king and his brother; but Germany, much more unhappy, was a vaſt theatre of carnage.

1634. Conſpiracy and death of Walſtein.

The emperour irrecoverably loſt his only remaining great general. Diſpleaſed with the imperious temper of Walſtein, he again deprived him of the command; upon which, that general entered into a conſpiracy; when the emperour cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated by two colonels at Egra, and gave the command to the archduke Ferdinand, king elect of Bohemia and

and Hungary. This revenge, whether the circumſtances rendered it neceſſary or not, proves the weakneſs to which he found himſelf reduced. We imagine that we ſee Henry III. aſſaſſinating the duke of Guiſe, becauſe he could not check his ambition.

Meantime the Swedes felt the viciſſitudes of war. The archduke having beſieged Nordlinguen in Suabia, Weimar came to the aſſiſtance of the place, and attacking the Imperialiſts, who were greatly ſuperiour in number, loſt the battle, with about ſixteen thouſand men. Fortune then changed ſides; Richelieu, who never loſt ſight of the affairs of Germany, and had even inſtigated Welſteim to rebel, perceived the neceſſity of ſuccouring the Swedes, and engaged not only to continue the ſubſidies, but to ſend a body of troops; in conſequence of which, the allies received a French garriſon into Alſace; Philipſburgh was ceded to France by Sweden; and the cardinal de la Valette, ſon of the duke d'Epernon, arrived at the head of an army to join the duke of Weimar, commander in chief of the proteſtants.

The Swedes defeated at Nordlinguen.

Richelieu ſends them troops.

We may eaſily imagine the reproaches vented againſt Richelieu, on account of this war, by the herd of catholicks. He had taken great care, from the firſt, to ſtipulate with Guſtavus, that the catholick religion ſhould receive no damage: But few perſons were capable of hearing reaſon in favour of ſuch a piece of policy, while they ſaw things only in that light which alarmed their zeal. A Spaniſh cardinal, in full conſiſtory, had accuſed Urban VIII. of betraying

The zealous catholicks looked upon this war as a crime.

the

the cauſe of religion, becauſe he did not publiſh a cruſade in favour of Ferdinand.

1635. Treaty of Prague between the elector of Saxony and the emperour.

In theſe conjunctures, the elector of Saxony, either from diſcontent or fear, concluded the treaty of Prague with the emperour. They ſettled between them the affair of the benefices, and determined the fate of the princes and ſtates of Germany; excluded the children of the elector Palatine for ever from the amneſty, as well as all thoſe who had any ſhare in the former troubles of Bohemia; and agreed that the empire ſhould raiſe an army to drive out the Swedes and French. One of the articles bore, that the proteſtants ſhould continue forty years longer in poſſeſſion of the benefices which they had enjoyed ſince 1552. This was at leaſt, in ſome meaſure, cancelling the edict of reſtitution; but Ferdinand's deſpotiſm ſtill ſhewed itſelf without diſguiſe.

The proteſtants accede to it, after great complaints.

Germany was at firſt filled with clamours. Univerſal indignation was kindled, that two princes ſhould arrogate to themſelves ſo great authority over the whole Germanick body. But men's minds were calmed by degrees. The proteſtants, except the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, acceded to the treaty of Prague; and thus France and Sweden were reduced almoſt to their own forces.

France gives up Alſace to Weimar.

Richelieu, in order to attach the duke of Weimar to the league, not only furniſhed him with troops and money, but made him a preſent of Alſace, which was to deſcend to the heirs of his body as a principality of the empire.

It

It was about the time when the Swedes made their firſt campaigns againſt Ferdinand, that the duke of Orleans had raiſed the ſtandard of rebellion. This volatile, weak, and reſtleſs prince, always guided by worthleſs favourites, but whom he conſtantly ſacrificed when it ſuited his own convenience, was ſupported by Charles duke of Lorraine, whoſe ſiſter he had privately married. We have ſeen the mareſchal de Montmorenci fall a victim to the rebellion into which he had been drawn by Gaſton; nor had the duke of Lorraine reaſon to applaud himſelf for the ſteps which he had taken. Having twice promiſed to abandon the rebellious prince, and twice broken his word, he loſt the dutchy of Bar, and even Nanci, in 1633.

The duke of Orleans leagued with the duke of Lorraine.

The latter chaſtiſed.

The marriage of the duke of Orleans, which the univerſity of Louvain maintained to be indiſſoluble, was declared null by that of Paris, and it was cancelled by the parliament, as contrary to the laws of the kingdom. In fact, the king's conſent, which is neceſſary in ſuch caſes, appeared the more indiſpenſible, as Gaſton was preſumptive heir of the crown. The quarrel between the two brothers ſtill ſubſiſted, under ſome appearances of accommodation.

Marriage of Gaſton annulled.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

FRANCE *at War with the whole Houſe of* AUSTRIA.——*Revolutions in* CATALONIA *and* PORTUGAL.

Deſign of attacking the houſe of Auſtria.

CARDINAL Richelieu, though involved in troubles, and ſurrounded by conſpiracies, reſolved upon an open war againſt the whole houſe of Auſtria; a hazardous undertaking, but well calculated for ſecuring him in his high ſtation. He made himſelf neceſſary by multiplying the difficulties of government. Beſides, the glory of the ſtate was connected with the intereſt of the miniſter, provided reſources could be found equal to the greatneſs of the deſign.

Spain humbled by Holland.

Never were circumſtances more favourable for an attack upon Spain: The war with Holland ſtill continued, and the Spaniards ſunk under the efforts of that ſmall republick, whoſe naval forces had deprived them of Braſil, and the beſt acquiſitions of the Portugueſe in the Eaſt Indies; nor was the prince of Orange, Frederick Henry, who ſucceeded his brother Maurice in 1625, leſs ſucceſsful by land. In 1632, the Flemiſh lords having entered into a conſpiracy to erect their country into a republick, he took advantage of theſe troubles, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places, particularly Maeſtricht, and defeated Pappenheim, a celebrated general in the Imperial ſervice, who was afterwards ſlain at the battle of Lutzen. So greatly was the court of Spain humbled, that though peace was

Frederick Henry Stadtholder.

offered

offered to the Dutch on very honourable terms, the republick refuſed to treat.

1635. League with the Dutch. War declared againſt Spain.

Richelieu made a treaty with Holland, by which the partition of the Low Countries was ſettled beforehand, as if the conqueſt had been certain; after which he ſent a herald to declare war againſt the Cardinal Infant, the new governour of thoſe provinces, on pretence of an attempt made by the Spaniards againſt the elector of Treves, who was an ally of France. But the finances were exhauſted; the cardinal's houſehold, which was more ſplendid than the king's, alone ſwallowed up four millions a year. There was no reſource but in the woeful expedient of money edicts, contrary to the good of the ſtate, and equally ruinous to the prince and people. A bed of juſtice was ſoon held, in which the parliament was obliged to regiſter forty two of them at once, without examination or even reading. Henry IV. and Sully purſued very different meaſures.

Money edicts not ſo advantageous as economy.

Firſt campaign in Flanders unſucceſsful.

Accordingly the armies in Flanders and Germany mouldered away for want of proviſions. The firſt campaign was every where unſucceſsful, except in the Valteline, where the duke of Rohan maintained himſelf with a few troops againſt the Germans and Spaniards, while the mareſchal Crequi, with the dukes of Savoy and Parma, allies of the king, could make no progreſs in Italy. This ill ſucceſs was in ſome meaſure owing to their miſunderſtanding. On the other ſide, Holland acted but faintly, from an apprehenſion of having France for its neighbour; and the Flemings continued faithful to

Spain

Spain becauſe their privileges were then reſpected, as they ought to have been before the troubles.

1636. The Spaniards in the kingdom.

This campaign was followed by another more unfortunate to the French nation. The Cardinal Infant, accompanied by the duke of Lorraine and the celebrated John de Werth, penetrated into Picardy, paſſed the Somme, made himſelf maſter of Corbie, and ſpread terrour in the capital. The Spaniards ravaged Burgundy, and invaded Guienne, but reaped no advantage from theſe ſucceſſes. The little town of St. Jean de Lone, in Burgundy, held out with ſo great bravery, that they raiſed the ſiege. The prince of Condé had raiſed that of Dole, in order to oppoſe the enemy. That town, which afterwards ſubmitted to Louis XIV. almoſt the moment he appeared before its gates, held out againſt Condé three months. To conclude, the invaſion of the Spaniards was rendered fruitleſs, both by their bad conduct, and the advantage which the French have in a defenſive war, where the zeal and courage of the nation make amends for every other want.

Sieges of Dole and St. Jean de Lone.

Cabals againſt Richelieu.

The more misfortunes that befel the ſtate, the more violent were the clamours againſt the miniſter, who was deteſted by the people on account of the taxes with which they were loaded, and expoſed to a thouſand dangers from the hatred of the great men, and the intrigues of the court. The duke of Orleans and the count de Soiſſons, whom he had made general of the army in Picardy, formed a plot to cauſe him to be aſſaſſinated in the king's apartment; and the

blow

blow would infallibly have been ſtruck, had the duke given the ſignal to the murderers; but he was withheld by remorſe or fear, and theſe two princes privately withdrew ſoon after.

Intrigues of Father Cauſſin.

Father Cauſſin, a Jeſuit, who, though poſſeſſed neither of genius nor prudence, yet by his office of confeſſor had a powerful influence over Louis XIII. was very near effecting what had been fruitleſsly attempted by the ableſt heads in the nation. By exaſperating the mind of his ſuperſtitious penitent, repreſenting the cardinal as the oppreſſor of the queen mother, the tyrant of the kingdom, and, above all, the ſupport of hereticks, he encouraged him to get rid of that miniſter. But this awkwardly contrived ſcheme was ſoon diſcovered, and ended in the baniſhment of Cauſſin.

The Jeſuits ſuſpected by the Cardinal.

Richelieu, not without good reaſon, diſtruſted the Jeſuits, to whom he aſcribed ſome of the libels publiſhed againſt his perſon and miniſtry. He had been on the point of baniſhing them, upon account of a ſeditious book publiſhed by Santarelli, one of their fraternity; but they diſſipated thoſe ſtorms by their addreſs and credit.

1637, 1638, 1639. Sequel of the war.

Meantime the war continued, notwithſtanding the efforts of Urban VIII. to reconcile the powers, and ſome inſincere negotiations, carried on with more artifice than deſire of peace. We ſhall take a ſhort view of the principal events. The duke of Rohan loſt the Valteline for want of ſupplies. But the count d'Harcourt recovered the iſles of St. Margaret and St. Honorat on the coaſt of Provence, which had been taken by the Spaniards in 1635. The prince of Condé miſcarried at the ſiege of Fontarabia,

as

as he had done before Dole; and Richelieu revenged himſelf for that misfortune on the duke de la Valette, whom he hated. He was accuſed of not having ſuccoured the prince; commiſſioners were appointed for his trial, at which the king preſided in perſon when ſentence was given; and the duke was condemned to be executed in effigy. Under a rod of iron, juſtice muſt infallibly loſe her power.

Trial of the duke de la Valette.

Ferdinand II. died in 1637, after a reign of ſeventeen years. This emperour had created twenty two princes, ſixty counts, and one hundred and twenty barons of the empire, probably with a view to raiſe money by the ſale of titles, or to purchaſe creatures. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Ferdinand III. who had been already elected king of the Romans; an election againſt which a proteſt had been entered by the count Palatine, and the archbiſhop of Treves, becauſe they had not been ſummoned to the diet. France and Sweden refuſed to acknowledge this emperour; and the ravages of war, though ſtill ſo fatal to both parties, were continued without intermiſſion.

Death of Ferdinand II.

Election of Ferdinand III.

Though the Swediſh army under the command of Bannier had gained a glorious victory at Wiſtock in Upper Saxony, they found themſelves cloſely preſſed by General Gallas. Weimar loſt a battle, in which the duke of Rohan was killed by his ſide; but he afterwards gained eight ſucceſſive victories in 1638. The deciſive battle of Rheinfeld put into his hands four generals; and one of them, John de Werth, was conducted in triumph to Paris. Weimar died

Events of the war in Germany.

Battle of Rheinfeld.

died next year, while his whole thoughts were taken up with his vaſt deſigns. The Swedes retook Pomerania, which they had loſt, advanced as far as Prague, and fell upon Sileſia. Germany was deluged with blood, and overſpread with hideous ruin: Every day its wounds bled afreſh. Had Ferdinand foreſeen the effects of his ambitious violence, would he ever have kindled this flame? And to warn him of the conſequences, was not the example of Charles V. ſufficient, not to mention a multitude of others?

The Dutch fleets beat the Spaniſh.

Whatever ſucceſſes Spain met with in this war, which was continued againſt her twenty five years, no power loſt more before its concluſion. A grand fleet, which Olivarez had equipped againſt Sweden, was deſtroyed on the coaſt of England by the Dutch admiral Van Tromp, who has rendered his name immortal. Soon after, the republick made the important conqueſt of Molacca in the Eaſt Indies, which it has kept ever ſince. Holland raiſed herſelf on the ruins of that vaſt monarchy, turning the faults of its government to her own advantage; and that government continued to provoke the ſubjects to rebellion.

1640. Catalonia oppreſſed, ſhakes off the Spaniſh yoke.

As the weight of the publick burdens fell almoſt ſolely on the Caſtilians, the other provinces pleading their privileges, and refuſing to contribute to the multiplied exigencies of the ſtate, the Count duke d'Olivarez, who was equally fond of deſpotiſm with Richelieu, reſolved to extort by force what it was neceſſary to have obtained by prudence, and ſent poſitive orders

orders into Catalonia for levying troops and raiſing money. The Catalans ſent deputies to the court, who ſpoke too boldly, and were impriſoned. Other violences committed in the province irritated that naturally untractable people, and even the ſacred things were profaned and carried away. The biſhop of Girona fulminated an excommunication againſt thoſe who had been guilty of the profanation; and this was, as it were, a ſignal of ſedition. The city of Barcelona flew to arms, and the rebellion became general. The Catalans wanted to form a republick; but being too weak to reſiſt the forces of Philip IV. gave themſelves to France in 1641.

Philip IV. loſes Portugal.

The revolution in Portugal is ſtill more extraordinary. The Portugueſe, chagrined by their loſſes, humbled to the loweſt degree of weakneſs, cruſhed under the Spaniſh yoke, and tranſported with national hatred, had long been eager to break their fetters; when their diſcontent was carried to the higheſt pitch, by an order obliging all the nobility, under pain of confiſcation of their fiefs, to take arms for the reduction of Catalonia. A conſpiracy had been carried on with impenetrable ſecreſy, for three years, in favour of the duke of Braganza, whoſe family had been unjuſtly deprived of the ſucceſſion to the crown by Philip II. and the conſpirators executed their deſign in a moment, when they ſacrificed only two victims, Vaſconcellos the miniſter, who oppreſſed his country, and his ſecretary. The timid Braganza, rouſed by the courage of his wife, who was a native of

The duke of Braganza king, without effuſion of blood.

Spain,

Spain, at laſt ſuffered himſelf to be crowned by the name of John IV. Liſbon, ſettled in tranquillity, gave itſelf up to rejoicing, and almoſt no reſiſtance was made in the reſt of the kingdom; the Spaniards diſappeared, and Portugal only changed its maſter. This revolution is ſingular in its kind.

Manner in which Philip was informed of this news.

Philip, ſunk in a diſgraceful lethargy, was entirely ignorant of this ſtrange piece of news, while it echoed through every corner of Europe; but at laſt there was a neceſſity to acquaint him with the truth.—*Sire*, ſaid Olivarez, *the duke of Braganza has been unwiſe enough to cauſe himſelf to be elected king of Portugal; you will gain by it a confiſcation of twelve millions*: To which the king replied—*Let order be taken for it*, and continued his amuſements. Naples, emboldened by theſe examples, likewiſe thought of ſhaking off the yoke; and a conſpiracy was formed to deliver up that kingdom to France, but the plot was countermined, and did not take place.

Conſpiracy at Naples.

Turin taken by the count d'Harcourt.

Before Philip loſt Catalonia and Portugal, the honour of the French arms had been reſtored by two glorious expeditions. The count d'Harcourt, after defeating the marquis de Leganez near Caſal, haſtened to the ſiege of Turin, where prince Thomas of Savoy, already maſter of the town, was attacking the citadel. But Harcourt was himſelf beſieged in his camp by Leganez, and, though obliged to ſtruggle with a famine for two and twenty days, carried his point, notwithſtanding ſo many obſtacles. When John de Werth heard of this extraordinary exploit,

exploit, he exclaimed, in admiration—*I had rather be general Harcourt than emperour.* On the other ſide, three mareſchals of France took Arras, which, according to an old proverb, was ſaid to be impregnable; and the conqueſt was made more illuſtrious by four battles which the cardinal infant fought for its relief.

Arras taken.

The emperour was likewiſe very near loſing his capital; to beſiege which the French and Swediſh army, reinforced in Germany by the troops of Heſſe, Brunſwick, and Lunenburg, was on its march; and Vienna muſt neceſſarily have fallen, had not the enterpriſe been rendered abortive, by the ſkilful operations of Picolomini.

Vienna ſaved by Picolomini.

It would be equally ſuperfluous and tireſome to enter into the particulars of a war ſo complicated, and carried on with ſuch obſtinacy; in which the ſtrength of all the powers was exhauſted, even by their victories as well as their defeats. Peace, which is always deſirable, became abſolutely neceſſary, and ſtill it was impoſſible to bring it to a concluſion. Each of the belligerent powers aimed at its particular advantage, which was incompatible with that of its allies. None of them was reduced ſo far as to accept ſhameful conditions. The negotiations were embroiled, and broken off by a thouſand artifices. Cardinal Richelieu, eſpecially, being deſirous of prolonging the war, artfully eluded the propoſals, though he affected a love of peace. He dreaded that Sweden would deſert the alliance, and treat ſeparately, becauſe ſhe might turn it to her advantage. But

Negotiations carried on with inſincerity, fruitleſs.

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a disagreeable event dispelled his fears, and served his political purposes.

Bannier died after an unsuccessful attempt against Ratisbon, where a diet was held which favoured the interests of the emperour; and his death weakening the Swedes, they renewed the alliance till the general peace should be concluded, the preliminaries of which were signed at Hamburg. It was determined that the treaty should be carried on at Munster for France, and at Osnaburg for Sweden; so that the articles agreed upon in one of these cities, should be thought equally consented to in the other. Such were the preparatory steps for the peace of Westphalia, which was yet to be purchased by several years of carnage.

1641. The alliance renewed between France and Sweden.

Preliminaries of the peace of Westphalia.

Torstenson, the worthy successor of Bannier, met with the greatest success from the time that he was put at the head of the army (1642). He took Leipsick, after cutting in pieces the Imperial and Saxon troops; and this good fortune inspired Sweden with new ardour for the war.

Torstenson, a Swedish general.

CHAP. IV.

Death of Cardinal RICHELIEU *and* LOUIS XIII.

WE are now drawing near to the end of the reign of Louis XIII. or rather of his miniſter, which I ſhall make the ſubject of this chapter, referring other matters to a more convenient place.

Cardinal Richelieu deteſted.

Richelieu's authority met with univerſal ſubmiſſion; but he was accuſed, by the whole nation, of injuſtice and tyranny. He cruſhed the ſmall, as well as the great, and took the moſt odious and pernicious methods for raiſing money; of which we may judge, by his eſtabliſhing four hundred offices of attornies, which neceſſarily increaſed the ruinous abuſes of chicanery. He, in a manner, ſtifled the voice of the parliament, whoſe remonſtrances might be of great utility, provided they did not paſs the proper bounds. By a declaration publiſhed in a bed of juſtice, that court was ordered to regiſter all edicts concerning the affairs of government without deliberation; and as to thoſe concerning the revenue, they were to be regiſtered on the order of the king, after hearing their repreſentations. That miniſter diſpoſed of every thing according to his own pleaſure. He ſtruck off the heads of the firſt men in the ſtate, by arbitrary ſentences; while he heightened the luſtre of the crown in the eyes of foreign nations,

nations, and made it too formidable at home; he deſpiſed the complaints of the people, whom he rendered every day more unhappy. Under ſuch a government, the factious inceſſantly breathed the ſpirit of rebellion.

Rebellion of the count de Soiſſons, &c.

The count de Soiſſons had made his eſcape from the court in 1636, and taken refuge in Sedan; where uniting with the dukes of Bouillon and Guiſe, and concluding a treaty with Spain, he raiſed an army and began a civil war, and, at the battle of Marfée, defeated the mareſchal de Chatillon, who had acquired ſo great glory by the taking of Arras. Had not the young prince been ſlain in the engagement, his victory might have been followed by important conſequences. The duke de Bouillon, ſovereign of Sedan, ſpeedily entered into a negotiation, but preſerved the views and deſires of a rebel.

1642. He gives the king Cinqmars for a favourite.

Scarce was the ſtorm diſpelled, when another aroſe. The king could not live without a favourite. His gloomy temper found relief in thoſe particular intimacies, where a weak mind takes a timid revenge for the conſtraint which it labours under elſewhere. The miniſter, who was perpetually in danger, had ſucceeded in turning the king's favour upon young Cinqmars, ſon of the mareſchal d'Effiat; hoping from him a return of gratitude, and, above all, flattering himſelf with the hopes of governing him. But he judged improperly of a courtier.

Cinqmars conſpires the miniſter's deſtruction.

Cinqmars, who was promoted to the poſt of maſter of the horſe, diſguſted with the king, and more jealous of the miniſter's authority,

reſolved upon the ruin of Richelieu; and, in order to effect it, ſhewed the utmoſt complaiſance for the inclinations and humours of Louis, with whom he was not before afraid to enter into frequent quarrels. It was no difficult matter for him to gain over the dukes of Orleans and Bouillon to his ſeditious projects. A treaty was concluded with Spain in the name of the former, for introducing the Spaniards into the kingdom, in order to change the face of the government.

No doubt was entertained of his ſucceſs,

The greateſt ſtreſs of the war had been turned upon Rouſillon; the reunion of which province to the crown was an enterpriſe highly worthy of the miniſtry. Louis commanded in perſon, and was more than ever captivated with his favourite. Richelieu's fall was determined, and in all appearance ſo certain, that it was publickly ſpoken of as not far diſtant. Sick, and a prey to diſquiet, he languiſhed at Taraſcona in expectation of his utter ruin; when, by a ſingular piece of good fortune, diſcovering the treaty with Spain, he gave information of it to the king. That prince heſitated, and was at a loſs what to believe, but at laſt opened his eyes. Cinqmars was arreſted, as was likewiſe Bouillon, who had imprudently been entruſted with an army at Caſal, where he commanded. Their confident de Thou, ſon of the celebrated hiſtorian, could not eſcape vengeance. Richelieu triumphed over his enemies, and cauſed their trial to be hurried on.

when every thing changed according to the wiſhes of Richelieu.

Trial of Cinqmars and de Thou.

The maſter of the horſe and de Thou were tried at Lyons, under the eye, and agreeably to the

the wiſhes, of the cardinal. Though their crimes were far from being equal, both were condemned to the ſame puniſhment, and loſt their heads. The ſecond was only guilty of concealing the plot, which he diſapproved.—"*I ſhould have paſſed for a calumniator*, (ſaid "he) *had I accuſed the king's brother, and "perſons of the firſt quality, without proofs "ſufficient for their conviction.*" But a law of Louis XI. was quoted againſt him, which, from its exceſſive ſeverity, had fallen into ſo total oblivion, that even the magiſtrates were unacquainted with it, and it was the miniſter who pointed it out to the chancellor. The duke of Bouillon purchaſed his pardon by giving up the principality of Sedan, and afterwards obtained lands to a conſiderable amount in exchange. As to the weak Gaſton, duke of Orleans, who led his friends to the ſcaffold, he had furniſhed proofs to convict the others of their guilt, and ſubmitted to live in a private ſtation.

Gaſton and the duke de Bouillon puniſhed.

It is related, that Louis XIII. after his return to Paris, looking at his watch on the day when his old favourite was to ſuffer, ſaid—*Within an hour, the great man will paſs his time diſagreeably.* The cardinal, at leaſt, veiled his paſſions with an air of grandeur. After the execution he wrote a letter to the king, in the following words:—*Sire, your enemies are dead, and your arms are in Perpignan.* That important town had been taken from the Spaniards.

Expreſſions of the king and the miniſter.

Richelieu drew near the grave; but his pride and ambition were proof againſt decay. Though

Death of Richelieu.

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worn out with diſeaſe, he came to court, carried part of the way on the ſhoulders of his guards, in a machine covered with damaſk. He imagined that he ſhould ſurvive the monarch, and was taking meaſures for ſecuring the regency. Vain ideas! Death ſurpriſed him at the age of fifty ſeven. It was impoſſible for any man to believe his proteſtation on his death bed, that, during his whole miniſtry, he had nothing in view but the good of religion and the ſtate.

1643. Death of Louis XIII.

Louis XIII. expired the year following. Mary Medici, his mother, had died a little before at Cologne, in exile and miſery.

Misfortunes attendant on ambition.

"*Cardinal Richelieu* (ſays Mr. Voltaire) *was* "*perhaps the moſt unhappy of the three, becauſe* "*he was moſt hated; and, though labouring* "*under a bad ſtate of health, was obliged to ſup-* "*port an immenſe load with hands bathed in* "*blood.*" If he did ſupport it under ſo many vexations, alarms, and dangers, the reaſon is, that the paſſion for dominion is equally bold and inſatiable; that, to the ambitious man, the greateſt misfortune is the loſs of favour; that, accuſtomed to confuſion and buſtle, he conſiders tranquillity of mind as a kind of death. When once engaged in that career, the ſweets of private life are looked upon as inſipid and tireſome. To how many paſſions is the human heart a ſlave! Richelieu, with ſo great a portion of genius and courage, would have deſerved the higheſt encomiums, had he made the happineſs of the monarchy the ſole end of his government.

I reſerve, to another chapter, ſome particular obſervations on government, literature, and religion. But we muſt firſt turn our attention upon England, where the unfortunate reign of Charles I. though unconnected with the general ſyſtem, from its little influence on the affairs of Europe, yet is no leſs worthy of our particular ſtudy.

CHAP. V.

Reign of CHARLES I. *in* ENGLAND, *till the War with the Parliament.*

General idea of this reign.

WE now come to a remarkable epocha in the Engliſh hiſtory, when liberty ſtruck deep roots, when not only the uſurpations, but the juſt prerogatives of the crown were diſputed and wreſted from it. Horrid ſcenes of violence ſerved as a prelude to the harmony of a legal conſtitution; the whole government ſeemed not only thrown into confuſion, but annihilated; yet order ſprung from this chaos. In a word, frenzy and fanaticiſm led, through paths flowing with blood, to a revolution, which the Engliſh celebrate as the ſource of their happineſs. When we reflect upon the cauſes, we ſhall be leſs ſurpriſed at the effects.

The ſeeds of the troubles had been ſown by James I.

When James I. imprudently advanced the maxims of abſolute authority, without having the ſtrength neceſſary to ſupport it, he only irritated the people, excited men of warm tem-

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pers to fatal diſputes, and expoſed the crown to the attacks of the parliament. Men's minds were ſet to work; they acquired new lights, and knowledge ſufficient to diſcern that the royal prerogative had its limits; but they were too much heated not to overleap thoſe of the national liberty. From the ſhock of thoſe different intereſts, from thoſe overſtrained opinions, neceſſarily iſſued devouring flames.

On one ſide, the king was powerful in himſelf; but, on the other, the nation furniſhed the ſubſidies, without which the government could not act.

Charles I. quarrels with the parliament.

Charles I. though endowed with all the qualities of an amiable and virtuous prince, yet, from his deſire to put in practice the principles of his father, which were not conteſted under the Tudors, plunged from one abyſs to another. So early as the ſecond year of his reign, (1626) the commons ventured to impeach Buckingham, the favourite miniſter, who, though too worthleſs, enjoyed the confidence of the ſon as well as of the father, and had never been attacked while the kings continued abſolute. Charles forbid the impeachment, and demanded a ſpeedy ſubſidy; giving them to underſtand, that, in caſe of a refuſal, he could very eaſily aboliſh parliaments, as had been done by ſo many other monarchs.

Violent meaſures weakly ſupported.

This indiſcreet threat was ſuddenly followed by a ſtroke of arbitrary power. Two members of parliament were put in priſon, but the commons refuſed to deliberate till they ſhould be enlarged. Scarce was that done, when the diſ-

putes

putes againſt the rights of the crown were renewed. The parliament was diſſolved, and taxes were levied by force: The murmurs increaſed, and the royal authority was more weakened: The neceſſary conſequence of a falſe ſyſtem, which makes men advance with obſtinacy, and recede with timidity.

Second parliament, where the commons ſhew more boldneſs.

The war undertaken againſt France, in favour of the inhabitants of Rochelle, made it neceſſary to convoke the parliament, (1628) where the ſame cauſes produced the ſame effects. The ſpirit of liberty even ſhewed itſelf more boldly. The following expreſſion was uſed by a member of the houſe of commons:— "*The man who ſuffers himſelf to be robbed of* "*his property, againſt his conſent, his liberties,* "*and the laws of the kingdom, does not ſhew* "*himſelf a good ſubject, but a ſlave.* The famous *petition of right* was drawn up by the lower houſe, requiring that no perſon may be forced to any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or other burden of the like nature, without the conſent of parliament; that no man may be ſued, impriſoned, or moleſted, in caſe of refuſal; in a word, that no denizen may be arreſted or detained by order of the king. In vain did the peers endeavour to make ſome modifications in this bill. The commons were untractable, and the king gave way in order to obtain ſupplies.

Petition of right, fatal to the prerogative.

Prohibition to pay an eſtabliſhed tax.

Buckingham's murder did not put an end to the fermentation; it was even more heated by the taking of Rochelle. The parliament again met in 1629, after its prorogation, and prohibited

hibited paying to the crown the duty of *tonnage and poundage*, on the import and export of merchandiſe; a duty, which, from the time of Henry the IV. about the middle of the fifteenth century, had uniformly been levied at the beginning of every reign, before the parliament had granted it to the new king. Charles now diſſolved this turbulent aſſembly, and made peace with France and Spain, that he might not any longer have occaſion for money. At the ſame time he choſe an excellent miniſter in Wentworth, earl of Strafford, formerly a zealous defender of liberty in the houſe of commons.

The king diſſolves the parliament, and endeavours to govern without it.

Ship money.

All the king's economy could not ſupply the want of ſubſidies. It was neceſſary to have recourſe to the old expedients. To the duty of tonnage and poundage, and the ordinary methods of prerogative, was added, a tax for the ſhipping, which amounted to no more than two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, and was employed for a purpoſe evidently uſeful; yet Hampden, a ſpirited patriot, refuſed to pay it; upon which he was ſued, and the cauſe was pleaded twelve days. His counſel inſiſted that the tax of *ſhip money* was an infringement on the rights of the nation; and though he was caſt, a trial of this kind taught the people but too well to ſtruggle againſt the crown. Some new acts of deſpotiſm, or which were looked upon as ſuch, the more exaſperated men's minds, as the court ſhewed a reſolution to call no more parliaments.

Suit againſt Hampden on this account.

Notwithſtanding

Notwithſtanding theſe ſeeds of diſcord, Charles might have kept his ſubjects in dependence, had he not provoked the rage of fanaticiſm. The ſect of the Puritans in England, like that of the Preſbyterians in Scotland, under pretext of following the pure goſpel, was capable of every extravagance, of every exceſs to which the enthuſiaſm of imaginary perfection, or the delirium of unreal virtues, can hurry men of a gloomy and violent temper. The ſlighteſt idea of a hierarchy, a ſhadow of popery, an indifferent ceremony of the Romiſh worſhip, were the abomination, the work of Satan, the reign of Antichriſt; and, in their frantick ecſtaſies, they made it a duty to ſacrifice every thing to the cauſe of God, that is, to their own madneſs.

Fanaticiſm of the Puritans.

On the other ſide, the king was a theologian, as well as his father, and too much wedded to his own ſyſtems not to ſtartle the ſectaries. He wanted to clothe the external worſhip with ceremonies, its too great ſimplicity being as capable of producing inconveniences as ſuperſtition itſelf; for in every thing extremes approach each other. He ſupported the authority of epiſcopacy; which he thought, upon good grounds, very friendly to the crown, either becauſe the biſhops depend upon the king, or their principles inculcate obedience. Beſides, he gave himſelf up to the counſels of Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury, a prelate of pure and rigid morals; but a violent zealot, enterpriſing, audacious, and obſtinate, and conſequently proper to kindle a flame in critical conjunctures, when

Charles, a bigoted theologian, favourable to epiſcopacy, and governed by Laud of Canterbury.

a ſingle ſpark was ſufficient to throw the whole kingdom into combuſtion.

Ceremonies of Laud, which the king is deſirous to eſtabliſh in Scotland.

Laud had already eſtabliſhed in England a number of ceremonies borrowed from the Romiſh church, and exerciſed his deſpotick power as primate with very little prudence; while the king, with ſtill leſs, made an attempt to ſubject Scotland to the diſcipline and liturgy of the church of England; and for that purpoſe ſent down the new ſtatutes, with an order to put them in execution. But the dean of Edinburgh beginning the ſervice in a ſurplice, according to the preſcribed form, the people immediately cried out, A Pope! an Antichriſt! ſtone him! A bench was thrown at the biſhop, who endeavoured to appeaſe the tumult, and the flame overſpread the whole kingdom of Scotland.

1638. The *covenant*, or league of the Scots.

The councils of the nation aſſembled in the capital, took an oath to ſupport their faith againſt popery, and to ſtand by one another for the maintenance of religion and the royal authority: Fanaticiſm always puts on the maſk of fidelity to the ſovereign. This league, which was called the *covenant*, exceeded all others of the kind in the violence by which it was characterized. The king offered to ſuſpend the uſe of the liturgy, provided the Scots would retract their covenant; but they replied, that they would ſooner renounce their baptiſm; they aboliſhed the liturgy and epiſcopacy in a general aſſembly, made preparations for a civil war, and fortified Leith; while their courage was animated by a propheteſs, and the women of quality

quality devoutly worked on the fortifications with the labourers.

Charles was now reduced to the hard neceſſity of fighting againſt his ſubjects. By his economy he was maſter of a conſiderable ſum, and the queen prevailed upon the catholicks to raiſe a contribution. He therefore marched againſt the rebels, but was diſarmed by an appearance of ſubmiſſion. His weakneſs dictated a treaty, the only fruit of which was increaſing the inſolence of his enemies. Scarcely had they ceaſed to dread him, when they renewed their attempts, and the civil war again became unavoidable.

Charles makes war againſt them.

It being impoſſible to raiſe any more money, Charles at laſt aſſembled a parliament, after an interval of nine years. But he found it inſenſible to his wants, violent againſt his prerogative, deaf to the moſt equitable requiſitions, and diſſolved it according to cuſtom. With the generous aſſiſtance of Laud, Strafford, and other noblemen, he raiſed an army, but could not hinder the Scots from penetrating into England, and taking Newcaſtle.

He calls a parliament, and diſſolves it.

As the parliamentary ſyſtem, far from loſing ground, was every day acquiring new ſtrength, the moſt prudent method would have been to come to an accommodation with Scotland, to call no more parliaments, to conciliate men's minds, and to take ſuch meaſures, whether moderate or vigorous, as would give a rational proſpect of ſucceſs: But unhappily the king was incapable of keeping a medium in a career beſet with precipices. His firſt ſteps were

1640. Miſtaken conduct of that prince.

were violent and inconſiderate, and his after conduct equally languid and ſpiritleſs: Firſt irritating, and immediately yielding, by his conceſſions he made his authority contemptible, as by his provocations he rendered it odious. The diſſolution of four parliaments was an unlucky prognoſtick, and he ſummoned a fifth, without foreſeeing that he was to fall its victim.

Fifth parliament.

The commons give law.

This dreadful aſſembly, where the republican ſpirit was invigorated by the fanaticiſm of the Puritans, began with a bold and deciſive ſtroke. The commons impeached Laud and Strafford of high treaſon; and the peers, whoſe zeal for the crown was already cooled, cauſed them to be arreſted. Ship money was aboliſhed; the acts of the government were cenſured, and the catholicks treated with the greateſt ſeverity. The indiſcreet zeal of the queen, the prieſts, the jeſuits, and a nuncio from the pope, whom ſhe kept at the court, furniſhed matter for complaints and perſecution. Charles ſoftened; and ſo great advantage was taken of his weakneſs, that he was forced to conſent that the parliament ſhould be called every three years, and that, when once aſſembled, it ſhould neither be diſſolved nor prorogued, for the ſpace of fifteen days, without the conſent of the two houſes.

Trial of earl Strafford.

The greateſt fault committed by the king, was the ſacrificing his miniſter. Strafford, after a long trial, was condemned, under pretext of ſome arbitrary acts, which were ſufficiently juſtified by ancient cuſtom, and the neceſſity of the

the conjunctures. The palace was beſet by rioters, to force the king to ſign the warrant: The virtuous Strafford exhorted him, by letter, to make that ſacrifice; and Charles permitted the execution of the ſentence, by which he expoſed his own head. Laud was not executed till three years after. His only crimes were an attachment to the prejudices of his profeſſion, and following them with a blind and violent zeal, but far inferiour to that of the Puritans.

Charles abandons him to the faction.

Fate of Laud.

So ſignal a victory over the royal authority rapidly brought on other enterpriſes; to ſecure the ſucceſs of which, a bill was paſſed, declaring that the parliament could not be diſſolved, prorogued, or adjourned, but by the conſent of the two houſes; and thus it became maſter of the king. The high commiſſion and ſtar chamber were aboliſhed; two courts contrary to liberty, but uſeful to the crown.

The parliament carries every thing before it.

The Scotch army, which was ſtill on foot, made the factious party much more formidable, and therefore maintained at the expenſe of England; but at laſt it was diſmiſſed, with a preſent of three hundred thouſand pounds, granted by the parliament. The behaviour of the Scots is even commended in the act of pacification, as *tending to the honour and advantage of his Majeſty*. What an inſult on the king! and yet theſe were only the firſt eſſays of the parliament's audacity.

It diſmiſſes and rewards the Scotch army.

By a deplorable fatality the flame catched Ireland in its turn, where the civil wars were rekindled. James I. had introduced into it the police and laws of England; and the earl of Strafford

The Iriſh, fanatical and ſeditious.

Strafford had governed with ſuch prudence, that, immediately after emerging from barbarity, agriculture, induſtry, and navigation grew to a flouriſhing ſtate. But the reformation of prejudices and manners advanced much more ſlowly. The Iriſh, being ignorant, ſuperſtitious, and enthuſiaſtick papiſts, ſubmitted with reluctance to the Engliſh, whoſe religion they deteſted. To ſhake off the yoke of hereticks was the object of their wiſhes; and ſome bold chiefs, taking advantage of the troubles of the monarchy, formed a plot ſimilar to that of St. Bartholomew in France. Forty thouſand proteſtants were maſſacred; even the women and children diſputing with the men the inhuman pleaſure, or, as they imagined it, the merit of ſhedding the blood of the victims. Dublin was upon the point of falling into the hands of thoſe rebels, who, to varniſh their crime, declared that they were authorized by the king and queen to take up arms; and produced a forged commiſſion with the great ſeal affixed, which they took from a patent, not bluſhing to unite the blackeſt impoſture with this boaſted zeal for the catholick religion.

They maſſacre the proteſtants.

Charles was in Scotland, endeavouring to appeaſe the troubles, when he received the news of the maſſacre, and immediately demanded aſſiſtance againſt the Iriſh rebels: But the Scotch parliament, notwithſtanding the national hatred againſt the catholicks, granted but a very ſmall matter; and that of England catching at an offer which he imprudently made them, to commit the management of that war

The king demands aſſiſtance from the parliament.

to

to their prudence and care, levied money, and collected arms, under pretence of ſuccouring him, but really with a deſign to turn them againſt him. While he was taking meaſures to chaſtiſe the rebels, he was publickly accuſed of being the author of the inſurrection. The puritans redoubled their virulent clamours. The commons publiſhed a *remonſtrance on the ſtate of the kingdom*, which is only a violent ſatire on the king's whole conduct. They declare the cuſtom of preſſing men for the ſervice an infringement on the publick liberty, and accuſe the biſhops of high treaſon; becauſe, being expoſed to the inſults of the populace, they had withdrawn from the houſe of peers, after proteſting againſt every thing that ſhould be done in their abſence. Theſe proceedings ſhewed a formed deſign either to overturn the throne, or reduce the regal power to a mere phantom.

Seditious proceedings of the Engliſh.

CHAP. VI.

CIVIL WAR *againſt* CHARLES I.——*He is beheaded.*

IT would have been difficult for a ſtrong and ſkilful hand to hold the helm in ſo ſevere a ſtorm; but Charles ſeemed to throw himſelf upon the rocks. Being juſtly provoked at the conduct of the commons, he wanted to make

1642. The king goes in perſon to impeach five members of parliament.

an example, and could not act with the dignity of a king. He went in person to the lower house, to impeach * five members; but this extraordinary resolution had transpired, and they were withdrawn. He then went to Guildhall, without his guards, and required that they might not be screened from a prosecution purely legal: But the people were inflamed; all the streets through which he passed echoed with seditious clamours; and the five impeached members were conducted to the house in a kind of triumph. A general insurrection was prognosticated by *petitions* addressed to the parliament, which the commons received from the porters, the women, and even the beggars. Charles quitted London, where he was no longer in safety: The queen was insulted by the fanaticks, and both sides turned their thoughts on a war, which was now unavoidable.

He is insulted.

The commons gave the signal for it, by a step which was entirely unprecedented. Being desirous of disarming the king, under pretence that plots had been formed by the papists, they drew up a bill, naming the governours and lieutenants of the fortified places, and making them responsible for their conduct to the parliament alone. A deputation was sent to the king; he was pressed, he was threatened; but nothing could make him give his consent to this bill. The military commands were then settled, and the governours obliged to obey *the orders of his majesty, signified by the two houses.* The king's

The parliament disposes of the military posts.

* The king went to seize the five members.

king's name, as may be eaſily judged, was to ſerve merely for a cover to the orders of the lower houſe.

Manifeſtoes were a prelude to the civil war; and Charles cauſed thoſe of his enemies to be diſtributed with his own; ſo much did he reckon upon the evident juſtice of his cauſe. On the contrary, the parliament uſed its utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs thoſe of Charles; ſo greatly did that body dread the ſtrength of argument and affecting moderation uſed by the king. In one of the laſt of theſe papers, the Engliſh conſtitution is repreſented as a mixture of three governments; the monarchical, ariſtocratical, and democratical, tempered, the one by the other. This is a language which had never been held by the court, and an opinion which Charles would not have admitted at the beginning of his reign.

Manifeſtoes before the civil war. The king's moderation.

Though hitherto inconſiderate and weak, from this time he acted with vigour and reſolution. Misfortune called forth his virtues. Almoſt all the nobility, the principal gentlemen, the members of the church of England, and the catholicks, embraced his party. The parliamentarians had on their ſide moſt part of the great towns and the Puritans. They were maſters of the ſea ports, the fleet, and the revenue. Religion animated the royaliſts, but acted more powerfully on the gloomy enthuſiaſts, who might therefore promiſe themſelves the victory.

Strength of the parties.

However, the firſt hoſtilities turned to the advantage of the king. His nephew, prince

Events of the war.

Rupert, ſon of the elector palatine, ſeconded him from the beginning of the war like a brave and able general. The rebels were defeated in ſeveral engagements; Briſtol was taken; ſiege was laid to Glouceſter; and the terrour ſpread even to London. But Glouceſter held out with invincible obſtinacy; and the parliament having raiſed fourteen thouſand men, ſent them to the relief of that important place, under the command of their general the earl of Eſſex; when Charles, after being obliged to raiſe the ſiege, loſt the battle of Newbury. In this engagement fell his miniſter, the viſcount Falkland, at the age of thirty four; a man of ſuperiour merit, equally reſpectable for his virtues, his abilities, and knowledge. He is believed to have been author of part of the king's manifeſtoes or declarations.

The Scots declare for the parliament, with fanatical zeal.

To complete his misfortunes, the Scots declared againſt him, and formed a league with the parliament of England; by which both ſides engaged to perſecute, to the uttermoſt, popery, prelacy, and profane ceremonies, and to reform the two kingdoms according to the word of God, and on the model of the pureſt churches. Such was the ſtrength of fanaticiſm, that pious notions always ſerved as motives for thoſe abominable confederacies. An army of more than twenty thouſand Scots having taken the field, the king concluded a truce with Ireland, and withdrew part of his troops, which furniſhed new matter of accuſation; his enemies reproaching him with having ſpared rebellious catholicks. He next ſummoned to Oxford thoſe

Truce with Ireland.

1644. Parliament of Oxford.

members

members of the parliament who were favourable to his cauſe, flattering himſelf that the new parliament would balance the authority of the old; but this aſſembly, which far exceeded the other in the number of peers, and fell much ſhort of it in the houſe of commons, only procured him ſome pecuniary aſſiſtance: That of Weſtminſter, though declared to have forfeited its legal authority, every moment increaſed the power by which it was rendered ſo formidable.

The independents.

Oliver Cromwell, a man of a moſt dangerous character, began to play an important part in that houſe. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſect of the independents, which was confounded in the multitude of the puritans, whom it exceeded in fanaticiſm and boldneſs, in the ſame manner as the ſixteen ſurpaſſed the grand league in France. Pretending to inſpiration, and intoxicated with the notion of a perfect equality among mankind; not content with proſcribing prieſts, prelates, and religious ceremonies; the independents wanted to deſtroy the kingly power, of which the other puritans only deſired to reſtrain the prerogative.

Cromwell diſtinguiſhed among them.

Cromwell, at once a hypocrite and enthuſiaſt, intrepid and ſubtle, impetuous and prudent, capable of acting the prophet, and commanding an army or ruling a ſtate, who was the principal cauſe of the victory at Marſtonmoor, gained over prince Rupert, ſoon became maſter of the parliament and the kingdom.

The ſelf denying ordinance.

He complained of the ſlow proceedings of his general, the earl of Mancheſter. Several preachers declaimed againſt the corruption of

the

the chiefs. Cromwell and his friends inſiſted, in parliament, on the neceſſity of a reformation; and a *ſelf denying* ordinance (that is the title given it) was enacted, by which the members of parliament, except a very ſmall number, were excluded from all employments, civil and military; in conſequence of which, Mancheſter, Eſſex, and the other noblemen, reſigned their commiſſions. Sir Thomas Fairfax being named general, aſked leave to make uſe of Cromwell's aſſiſtance; who, having taken care not to apply the *ſelf denial* to his own perſon, by this means got the command in the name of another; as Fairfax, who, though a man of integrity, had but a weak underſtanding, always ſuffered himſelf to be duped by his artifices.

favourable to Cromwell's ambition.

1645. Reformation of the army.

From that time, the army was ſubjected to more rigid diſcipline, breathing only the fervour of preſbyterianiſm and the rage of battle; knowing no pleaſures but prayer and military duty; and the more formidable on that account, as the royaliſts, who derided their bigotry, gave themſelves up to pernicious licentiouſneſs. Prince Rupert, whoſe impetuous courage had already drawn him into ſeveral errours, determined the king to come to a battle, without waiting for a reinforcement, which was to join him in a ſhort time; and the rebels gained a deciſive victory at Naſeby, near Oxford; where the king's baggage and his coffer falling into their hands, they found copies of his letters to the queen; and the parliament, which had been long accuſtomed not to bluſh at any thing, had the inſolence to publiſh them. This courageous princeſs,

Charles defeated at Naſeby.

His letters to the queen publiſhed.

princeſs, worthy of being daughter to Henry IV. had retired into France, after having twice brought her huſband ſuccours from Holland, through a thouſand dangers. The commons had impeached her of treaſon. At the ſight of ſuch monſtrous exceſſes, we fancy ourſelves in an age of barbariſm: But ſuch is the caſe in civil wars, eſpecially when mixed with fanatiſm!

He puts himſelf into the hands of the Scots, by whom he is ſold.

After the battle of Naſeby, Charles underwent an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of misfortunes of every kind. Upon the point of being beſieged in Oxford, he put himſelf into the hands of the Scots, who were then laying ſiege to Newark; when, though they received him with appearances of reſpect, they extorted from him orders to the governours for ſurrendering the ſtrong places, and ſoon after ſold him to the Engliſh parliament for four hundred thouſand pounds ſterling; an infamous bargain, after which we ought not to be ſurpriſed at any deed of horrour.

1647. The army carries him off, and enſlaves the parliament.

The parliament, having the king in their hands, was all powerful. Theſe pretended defenders of liberty were become the oppreſſors of the nation and the laws, and carried their deſpotiſm infinitely beyond what they had ſo grievouſly reproached in the ſovereign. The army reſolving to deſtroy this odious tyranny, in order to ſet up one of their own, carried off Charles, marched to London, entered the city, gave law, and oppreſſed the parliament.

Cromwell projects the death of the king.

But in the midſt of the army broke out the faction of the *levellers*, who roſe againſt their officers,

officers, becauſe the holy ſpirit puts all the elect upon a perfect equality. Cromwell having repreſſed thoſe fanaticks by a ſtroke of genius and vigour, now meditated the moſt horrid deſigns againſt regal majeſty.

That prince's offers rejected.

Charles having made his eſcape into the Iſle of Wight, where he was baſely arreſted by the governour, began a negotiation with the parliament, in which neceſſity reduced him to take the moſt humiliating ſteps; but nothing could ſoften the rebels. In vain did he offer to give up the management of the troops, and the nomination to the great offices, provided theſe rights ſhould revert to the crown after his demiſe. In vain did he add new conceſſions, and even acknowledge that the parliament had taken up arms in its juſt defence. He was required to deliver up his adherents as criminals, conſent to the abolition of epiſcopacy, and ſacrifice his religious principles, which were deeply rooted in his heart. Conſcience, which in him prevailed over the intereſt of the crown, made him inflexible on that point; and the parliament would not relax on a ſingle article.

The Scots attempt to defend him, and are vanquiſhed.

While the negotiation was on foot, the civil war broke out afreſh. The Scots took arms in favour of a prince whom they had ſhamefully betrayed, and ſeveral bodies of Engliſh troops gave proofs of their zeal; but Cromwell invaded Scotland, and rapidly conquered all before him; Fairfax ſtormed Colcheſter, after a vigorous reſiſtance; and in a very ſhort time the royal party was diſperſed and entirely overthrown. To crown ſuch a ſeries of victories and

crimes,

crimes, nothing was wanting but to command the execution of the ſovereign.

All the members of parliament forcibly driven out, except the independents.

While he was left in the power of the parliament, the army dreaded a reconciliation to their diſadvantage; and, being reſolved to commit the parricide, ſeized the perſon of Charles, and removed him from the Iſle of Wight to a fortreſs, whence he was afterwards brought to Windſor. But this precaution was not ſufficient; the parliament complained, oppoſed the army, and ſhewed themſelves leſs averſe from an accommodation; when Pride, who from being a drayman had riſen to the rank of colonel, beſet the houſe of commons with a body of troops, and arreſted forty one of the members; at the ſame time, above one hundred and ſixteen others were excluded, becauſe they were ſuſpected by the independents, who now remained abſolute maſters, and began the trial.

1648. Trial of Charles I.

The houſe of commons, thus regulated, declared the king guilty of high treaſon for having made war againſt the parliament, and created a court of juſtice, with power to judge him. Fairfax, Cromwell, and Ireton, ſon in law of Cromwell, were in the number of the judges. The peers having thrown out this horrid bill, the lower houſe paſſed a vote—that *the people is the ſource of all lawful authority*; *and conſequently the commons, choſen by the people whom they repreſent, are inveſted with the ſupreme authority of the nation*; *and all their determinations have the force of law, without the conſent of the king and the peers.* As if the king and the peers, in conjunction with the commons,

A declaration that all power is veſted in the commons.

mons, did not make up that conſtitution which they held ſo dear, and had uſed as a pretext for their rebellion; or a ſmall number of factious men, who had excluded the loyal members, were the houſe of commons.

1649. The king before his judges.

Charles I. was conducted by colonel Harriſon, the ſon of a butcher, before this tribunal of villains; ſpoke to them like a good king, refuſed to anſwer the indictment, proteſted that he acknowledged no judges among his ſubjects, and yet offered to demonſtrate the juſtice of his cauſe, if invited to it in a proper manner. He was brought before them three times, and ſtill maintained his firmneſs. Without paying any reſpect to the ſolicitations of Scotland, France, and Holland, nor to the generous conduct of four noblemen, who repreſented, that as they enjoyed the king's confidence, the puniſhments of the faults imputed to him ought to fall upon their heads; in contempt of all the rights of political ſociety, they condemned to death the king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and he was executed on a ſcaffold before his own palace. If the rebels triumphed, at leaſt the body of the people opened their eyes in conſternation, felt the pangs of remorſe, and looked with horrour on a crime not to be paralleled in the hiſtory of any age or nation.

He is condemned and executed.

This reign an important leſſon both to kings and people.

I ſhall relate its conſequences in the epocha of Louis XIV. Let ſovereigns and ſubjects reflect with care on the reign of Charles I. The firſt will learn, that there are critical circumſtances when authority is weakened by ſtriving to extend it; when too earneſt attempts to enforce rigorous

rigorous maxims, give life and ſtrength to principles directly oppoſite; and when the falſe ſteps of government may draw on its ruin. The others will ſee, that if the abuſe of authority be dangerous, rebellion againſt authority is more ſo; that ſeditious liberty is worſe than the tranſitory deſpotiſm of a monarch; that, in modern ſtates, the laws and opinion of the publick are a powerful barrier againſt the exceſſes of tyranny; and, above all, that there are no crimes ſo horrid, to which men will not be led by fanaticiſm, while it clothes itſelf with the name and word of God, to cancel every principle, ſentiment, and duty.

I have anticipated the tranſactions of ſome years, in the epocha of Louis XIV. in order to give the reign of Charles in one view; but this is a leſs inconvenience than it would have been to interrupt a narration, all the circumſtances of which are connected with one another.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Observations on GOVERNMENT *and* MANNERS; RELIGION *and the* CHURCH; SCIENCES *and polite* LITERATURE.

I.

PROGRESS OF MONARCHICAL GOVERNMENT, PARTICULARLY IN FRANCE.

To trace the progress of government;

IT is an object highly worthy of curiosity, to go back to the origin of governments, and to trace their variations and progress; to see, for example, petty, miserable, and oppressed states, become happy and powerful republicks; populous and warlike nations, formerly jealous of unbounded liberty, peaceably obeying the laws of a monarch; and monarchies, where absolute power seemed established, changed to a mixed constitution, where the powers are balanced by each other. In the course of the different ages we have remarked the most important changes; in this place it will be proper to consider the result, and form a general idea, ranging in orderly connexion the scattered and too distant features. Let us particularly turn our eyes upon France, the history of which is better known, whose relations to the other states are more striking, and the different forms of whose political government give a picture of almost all the changes that have happened in other countries.

the French monarchy in particular.

Such

Such an examination made with impartiality, far from weakening the ſubmiſſion due to the crown, can only render it more voluntary and perfect. It will prove how neceſſary the increaſe of the ſovereign power was to the ſtate; that if the means uſed for effecting this purpoſe were not always equitable, the end has been ſalutary; and that the misfortunes which till that time befel the nation, proceeded from the diſorders of anarchy, or the tyranny of ariſtocracy. In a word, truth neceſſarily takes the ſide of legal authority.

This enquiry leads to nothing but what is uſeful.

A herd of barbarians, known by the name of Francks, made a conqueſt of the fruitful provinces of Gaul, under their king Clovis; an able and ambitious chief, whom they followed from choice, not from conſtraint, and who had the art of directing the will of his followers to his own purpoſe; but in other reſpects poſſeſſed ſo little authority, that a ſoldier dared to diſpute with him the right of appropriating to himſelf a vaſe, which was part of the plunder taken from the enemy. However, the diviſion of the conquered lands put him in poſſeſſion of a conſiderable domain, which with ſome ſmall revenues of the crown, and the free gifts eſtabliſhed by cuſtom among the Germans, were ſufficient for the maintenance of his court. He was even enabled to ſeparate from it ſome lands, either to recompenſe the ſervices, or conciliate the affections of his principal warriors. He ſtill remained veſted with the property of the *beneſices* which he granted them; and, reſerving a right to withdraw them at his pleaſure, had the

In what conſiſted the authority of Clovis.

Lands of the domain diſtributed among the officers.

the means of puniſhment, as well as reward: Theſe poſſeſſions were held on the condition of military ſervice, and ſtood inſtead of pay; for as yet no ſpecies of hired and ſtanding armies was known.

National aſſemblies;

The aſſembly of the nation enacted laws, decided on war or peace, and at leaſt ſhared the principal rights of ſovereignty. Such was the government of all the barbarians; but the in-

influence of the king.

fluence of the prince naturally increaſed by his political talents and conqueſt. The reſpect entertained by the Francks for his family made the crown hereditary, though it was ſtill conferred by the conſent of the people, and there was no rule of ſucceſſion firmly eſtabliſhed: But from that time his ſucceſſors were enabled to acquire greater authority by purſuing a regular plan, and ſupporting it with vigour.

No juſtice, conſequently much violence.

Unhappily every rational ſyſtem of government was thwarted by barbarous laws and cuſtoms. Juſtice was in the hands of ignorant warriors, who reduced it almoſt to the right of the ſtrongeſt. If crimes were puniſhed, it was either by private revenge or pecuniary compoſitions; the eaſineſs of which emboldened to the commiſſion of other enormities. Almoſt all differences were decided by duel, or ſenſeleſs *ordeals*; the reſult of all which was, that the turbulent humour of the nation raged with unbridled licentiouſneſs, acts of violence were inceſſantly multiplied, the ſtrong oppreſſed the weak, and ſtorms broke out even round the throne.

The

The conqueror had eſtabliſhed chriſtianity among his people, or rather, if we judge by the conduct of the generality, made them change their external worſhip, without almoſt any material alteration in their manners: For we ſcarcely perceive that the morality of a religion, ſo pure and beneficent, enlightened the minds of this fierce nation. We only ſee that they aſſumed the name of chriſtians, and that, in general, ſuperſtitious practices ſtood them in ſtead of the chriſtian virtues; that the prelates, with ſome remains of knowledge, though darkened by ignorance, acquired an abſolute aſcendant over their minds, and ſoon domineered even in the court. We find the abſurd opinion almoſt univerſally eſtabliſhed, that crimes are expiated, and paradiſe bought, by laviſhing wealth on the miniſters of the church; and conſequently rich foundations becoming a kind of faſhion, the biſhops and the monks acquiring immenſe poſſeſſions in land, riſing to the rank of nobles, ſharing with them the obligation to military ſervice, and adopting the manners of a claſs entirely devoted to arms. To finiſh the picture, we ſee them introducing into publick affairs a mixture of crude religious ideas, proper to confound the ſacred with the profane, the civil with the ſpiritual; a mixture from whence reſulted a chaos of inconſiſtent pretenſions, that put numberleſs fetters upon government, and tended to its utter diſſolution.

Chriſtianity of the Francks full of pernicious ſuperſtitions.

Dangerous mixture of the ſacred with the profane.

In fact, every thing proclaimed an approaching revolution. The monarchy, being frequently divided among ſeveral kings, became a thea-

Cauſes of the revolution under the firſt race.

tre

tre of wars and maſſacres. Weak and incapable princes abandoned the reins to the mayors of the palace, who governed in their name. After having exceſſively enriched the church, it became neceſſary to reſume part of its land for the ſubſiſtence of the military; when the clergy and monks, being ſtripped of their property, raiſed diſturbances, either through intereſt or prejudice. They pronounced ſentence of damnation againſt the great Charles Martel, as an uſurper of the patrimony of the poor: But his ſon Pepin reſtoring the conſecrated lands, and paying pompous honours to the relicks, was the man deſigned by heaven to ſway the ſceptre. Such was the judgment of the clergy, ſecular and regular of the celebrated Boniface of Mentz, and pope Zachary; in conſequence of which, Pepin wreſted from the deſcendents of Clovis the crown, which they had long ſhewn themſelves unworthy to wear.

This ſketch of the firſt race is ſufficient to ſhew, that notwithſtanding ſome imperfect maxims of publick right, without which it would have been impoſſible for the nation to ſubſiſt, the government had ſcarce any fixed rules or principles; and the ſeeds of anarchy, conſtantly increaſing in fertility, muſt produce dreadful calamities.

Charlemagne reforms the ſtate.

Pepin, and above all Charlemagne, heightened the luſtre and power of the crown, even by reſtoring the national aſſemblies to their ancient ſplendour. The immenſe labours of the latter, his victories, conqueſts, zeal for good order, his laws and political adminiſtration, preſent

preſent us with an object of admiration in the midſt of barbariſm. In a better age he would have extirpated the ſeeds of diſorder; and perhaps nothing but his boundleſs ambition prevented him from eſtabliſhing the beſt ſyſtem of government then practicable. To what purpoſe were his conqueſts of Italy and Germany? Would not France, if raiſed to a ſtate of happineſs, have been a more valuable poſſeſſion than that vaſt empire? If the Saxons inceſſantly revolted, notwithſtanding the terrour of his arms, to what were not his ſucceſſors infallibly expoſed, who did not poſſeſs that extraordinary genius, which enabled him to ſurmount ſo many obſtacles and dangers!

His ambition an obſtacle to that work.

Accordingly his ſon, Louis the Debonnaire, ſoon became the ſport of factions, and the whole empire was divided and filled with inſurrections. Charlemagne had been able to reſtrain the clergy, though he favoured their exceſſes. Louis drew upon himſelf the hatred of that body, by endeavouring to ſubject them to diſcipline. The clergy then abuſed their power, and at once erected themſelves into judges of the emperour, whom they inſulted, oppreſſed, and depoſed. This unheard of attempt brought on numberleſs others of the ſame kind. Odious enterpriſes give, as it were, a right of uſurpation and rebellion, becauſe they have been crowned with ſucceſs. In a word, the eccleſiaſtical body, drawn on by favourable conjunctures, armed with forged decretals, and deriving power from the blind credulity of mankind, overturned the eſtabliſhed laws, and ſet up

Independence of the clergy after the reign of Charlemagne.

others of an arbitrary nature; above all, extended their own juriſdiction, freed themſelves from the cognizance of the tribunals; even diſpoſed of the crown, in the name of that God who commands them to be obedient to princes; and imagined that they were exerciſing rights derived to them from heaven, while they were overturning, or at leaſt violating, the eſſential order of human ſociety.

Uſurpations of the lords, and feudal government.

But the ſtate was threatened with much more dreadful convulſions from the turbulence of the nobility, whoſe ſwords ſeemed perpetually out of the ſcabbard. From the time of Charles the Bald, ſon of Louis, the fiefs became hereditary; and it is conjectured with ſufficient probability, that the ambition of the vaſſals might be excited by the example of the church; for as the lands which it was pretended were given to God, remained, as it were, annexed for ever to ſuch a biſhoprick, or ſuch a monaſtery, was it not natural for the poſſeſſor of a fief to endeavour to tranſmit his poſſeſſion to his children? But whatever be in this, the ſtate was torn into ſhreds: The lords uſurped what was the inconteſtible property of the crown; every one aimed at, and ſecured independence; ſome great feudatories, and an endleſs number of petty vaſſals under them, left the king only a mighty name, and a ſhadow of royalty. They parcelled the domain among them, of which he retained only a few inſignificant remains. Legal adminiſtration was entirely annihilated by a military ariſtocracy, or rather anarchy, armed and reduced to a ſyſtem. Of what advantage

to

to the lord paramount were proud titles, homages, and oaths? Of what avail was his right to command, without power to make himſelf obeyed? When the barons could give him law, and treat his orders with contempt, he was only a crowned idol.

The more that the feudal government, under the laſt kings of the Carlovingian line, was ſtuffed with minute rules, ſingular formalities and precautions, the deeper did anarchy ſtrike its roots; becauſe there was no real governing power. Accordingly we meet only with ſcenes of diſorder and depredations: Thouſands of tyrants, armed againſt each other, ſpurned the duties and feelings of human nature: Slavery became a refuge to the people: That warlike nation, which, in the time of Charlemagne, was invincible, fell a prey to the inſults of the Normans, a ſet of undiſciplined and unprincipled pirates; nor ſhall we be ſurpriſed at this, if we reflect on the civil diſcords, and the miſchiefs inſeparable from anarchy. To ſay all in one word, the ſtate of ſociety was then a ſtate of war.

Miſchiefs reſulting from it.

The ſecond race ended in the ſame manner as the firſt. As there were ſubjects who exceeded the king in power, ſome of them muſt one day deprive him of the throne; and Hugh Capet, deſcended from a family of heroes, two of whom had borne the title of king, took advantage of the circumſtances to ſupplant the lawful heir of the crown. It was only by a ſeries of revolutions, commotions, attempts, ſucceſsful riſks, and ſevere calamities, that this

End of the ſecond race.

monſtrous anarchy was diſpelled; that order ſprung from the chaos, and the regal authority, which was almoſt annihilated, raiſed its head amid ſo univerſal ruin. Some kings took advantage of favourable opportunities with addreſs; others ſeized them with vigour: But, in general, things changed, becauſe it was impoſſible they ſhould remain on the ſame footing: Events guided politicks much more than politicks guided events. Knowledge is requiſite to have a rational plan; and though at all times men are endowed with a kind of inſtinctive feeling, which makes them diſcern their true intereſt, the art of governing requires many other qualifications.

To weaken the power of the great men, and ſubject them to the regal authority, were the moſt effectual means for the reſtoration of order. I ſhall briefly run over the principal facts which led, though ſlowly, to the propoſed end.

Hugh Capet reunites the dutchy of France to the crown.

1. Kings without domains (for they had nothing left but Laon) were only kings in name. Hugh Capet, by reuniting to the crown the dutchy of France, and the other fiefs which were his private property, revived the ſeeds of power; but how far are we yet from the time when that of the ſovereign roſe to vigour! By cauſing their ſons to be crowned during their own lifetime, the firſt kings of the Capetian line fixed the ſucceſſion in their family; and this was a ſecond ſtep to power.

The crown hereditary.

The cruſade advantageous to Philip I.

2. The madneſs of cruſades, which became epidemical under the great grandſon of Hugh Capet,

Capet, turned, by a remarkable fatality, to the advantage of the king, while it exhauſted the kingdom. The nobleſſe ruined their fortunes, and ſold their lands to go in ſearch of adventures, and gain indulgences; and marched into Aſia, to give vent to that turbulent and martial diſpoſition which made them ſo dangerous at home. Philip I. notwithſtanding his exceſſive weakneſs, by this means enjoyed a peaceable reign, which, in that early period, was a very remarkable phenomenon.

3. His ſon, Louis VI. ſurnamed the Fat, ſmoothed the path to the revolution. The tyranny of the nobles, the numberleſs violences committed with impunity, and ſuffered without relaxation, every where awakened ſentiments of liberty, which were the more keen as the yoke became more odious. In Italy, Germany, France, and other countries, the ſame cauſe, according to the order of nature, produced the ſame effect. The inhabitants of the cities, and particularly of thoſe in which the advantages of commerce began to be felt, aſpired to a freedom of which there remained no veſtige; and purchaſed and kept it, notwithſtanding the ſtrong oppoſition they met with, particularly from the clergy, who attacked them as guilty of ſedition. They formed thoſe municipal ſocieties, thoſe *corporations*, which were governed by their own magiſtrates, and armed for the defence of their privileges, with an obligation to ſerve their prince againſt his enemies. Louis the Fat, and his ſucceſſors, favoured eſtabliſhments ſo advantageous to the crown; as, on one ſide, the lords

Eſtabliſhment of municipal communities.

loſt

loſt the power by which they oppreſſed the burghers; and theſe, on the other, contracted an affection for the royal authority, which they looked upon as a barrier againſt tyranny.

Progreſs of the regal judicial power.

4. Without the ſupreme power in the adminiſtration of juſtice, ſovereignty is of little value. He who judges, or appoints others to judge, has numberleſs advantages to procure reſpect and obedience. The lords had uſurped this right when they appropriated the fiefs; and the *royal envoys* of Charlemagne would no longer have dared to ſhew themſelves in the provinces. It was therefore an excellent piece of policy, firſt practiſed by Louis VI. inſenſibly to undermine the ſignorial courts of judicature. At firſt the cuſtom was revived of ſending commiſſioners, in quality of ſuperintendants. Afterwards four great bailiffs of the king became judges in ſome particular caſes, which were appropriated to their bench. In proceſs of time, the right of appeal took root; and at laſt the king became ſupreme judge. Yet it required time to give ſo important a reformation ſtrength, even in the king's domain; but Philip Auguſtus, by recovering the provinces which were in poſſeſſion of the kings of England, and making himſelf feared and reſpected by his vaſſals, quickened the progreſs of authority, which was yet unſtable.

The Roman law becomes very uſeful to the crown.

5. What perhaps contributed more to the change, was the new ideas of juſtice which had ſpread through Europe. The canon law, notwithſtanding the poiſon of the forged decretals, and the falſe principles with which it had been tainted,

tainted, at leaſt ſhewed a regular form of procedure, an order of juriſdiction, and, in a word, ſome veſtiges of the Roman juriſprudence. Juſtinian's Pandects, which were found about the middle of the twelfth century, greatly enlarged men's ideas on that ſubject. Schools of civilians were eſtabliſhed, where the Roman law was taught, and extolled with enthuſiaſtick admiration. Though it was overloaded with injudicious ſtatutes in the laſt ages of the empire, it was ſuppoſed a maſterpiece of perfection, becauſe the laws of the barbarians were the maſterpiece of extravagance. The kings uſed all their addreſs to introduce it into their dominions. St. Louis encouraged its ſtudy, and propagated its maxims. That prince became a legiſlator, and exerciſed the ſupreme power with dignity; repreſſed the abuſes of anarchy by his laws with regard to the coin, and *other eſſential points*; and eſtabliſhed upon ſolid foundations that right of appeal which gives majeſty to the crown. He adminiſtered juſtice with the authority of a ſovereign, prohibited the trial by duel, ſubſtituting legal proofs in its ſtead, and thus laid the foundations of an univerſal reformation, which made viſible progreſs.

Legiſlative power exerciſed by St. Louis.

6. Thus juriſprudence, being no longer confined to a few vague notions and barbarous practices, became a ſtudy. But how could an ignorant nobility, which only breathed the ſpirit of war and adventures, be capable of ſtudying, in order to attain the qualifications requiſite for

Authority of the civilians.

for judges? It was immediately found neceſſary to admit the civilians on the bench, in quality of *reporters*, to give their aſſiſtance, or rather to dictate the ſentence. Soon after, they became the ſole judges. The gown was diſtinguiſhed from the ſword, and formed another claſs of nobility; while the ſword looked with contempt on that illuſtrious profeſſion from which it drew part of its power: The conſequence of which was, that theſe two bodies were rivals; it became the intereſt of the latter to ſerve the prince againſt the former, and they employed their knowledge in his cauſe. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the parliament was fixed in the capital. Being the organ of the laws, it more and more ſtrengthened the baſis of monarchical government; yet it muſt be allowed, that the ſelfiſhneſs and prejudice of our ancient civilians exceeded the juſt bounds. Building upon ſome texts of ſcripture, and paſſages in the imperial laws, they ſuppoſed that the royalty of the Jewiſh kings, and the deſpotick power of the emperours, were rules for the conſtitution of France. This is the ordinary procedure of the human mind, eſpecially when it begins to exerciſe itſelf on great objects; it exaggerates things before it comprehends their nature. But the principles of the magiſtrates were not, on that account, leſs uſeful in repreſſing the diſorders of independence: Their opinion, in a great meaſure, formed that of the people; and with their authority increaſed that of the ſovereign, to which they frequently ſerved as bulwarks.

In what manner they contributed to the increaſe of the royal authority.

7. Philip

Admiſſion of the third eſtate into the ſtates general.

7. Philip the Fair, in order to gain the affection of the whole body of the people, in his violent diſpute with Boniface VIII. had ſummoned the commons to the ſtates general in 1303. This ſtep, though hazardous under a harſh and unjuſt government, immediately produced good effects. The ſentiments of liberty giving more vigour to the commons, tended more to counterbalance the power of the great men. The people, who were formerly ſlaves, and ſunk in brutal inſenſibility, contracted a regard for their country, intereſted themſelves in the publick weal, became ſuſceptible of zeal and generoſity, recovered their feelings, and were one of the chief reſources of the kings againſt foreign enemies, or domeſtick foes to their power. But there likewiſe roſe troubleſome times, when the third eſtate, naturally the rival of the two firſt orders, which looked upon it with diſdain, turned its activity and ſtrength againſt the king himſelf. So difficult is it to regulate the balance of the powers! and the equilibrium once broken, the weight falls, and the contexture of the machine ſeems to be diſſolved.

Diminution of the eccleſiaſtical power.

8. The clergy, whom we have ſeen ſo formidable to the kings of the ſecond race, retained the greateſt part of their prejudices, and were ſtill very jealous of their exceſſive authority. But they already perceived, that the intereſt of the crown could not be indifferent to them; and their religious principles prompted them to inculcate entire obedience, unleſs they were led aſtray by pretexts of religion, or extraordinary circumſtances.

circumſtances. The reſiſtance made by Philip Auguſtus, and even St. Louis, but, above all, by Philip the Fair, againſt the attempts of the Romiſh court, taught men to diſtinguiſh between the cauſe of God and the pretenſions of churchmen. Philip the Long, by excluding the biſhops from parliament, took from them one means of encroaching on the civil power. Under the reign of Philip Valois, the king's advocate, Peter de Cugnieres, had the courage to attack this boundleſs power, which had ſprung up in the darkneſs of barbariſm. He combated its abuſes and injuſtice with ſuch reaſons, good or bad, as occurred to him, and was anſwered with authorities and examples, but few arguments. At that time the diſpute fell, without having produced any effect; but, by degrees, the people were freed from their ſubjection to the eccleſiaſtical courts; the appeals by writs of errour formed a bulwark againſt oppreſſions; and the king always acquired more authority, in proportion as his courts judiciouſly ſeparated the civil rights from ſpiritual matters; a ſeparation which the nature of things, obſcured by time and cuſtom, unluckily rendered too difficult.

Misfortunes of King John.

9. Under the reign of the unfortunate John, who was a priſoner in England, every thing threatened a renewal of anarchy. The third eſtate was ſeized with a ſeditious ſpirit, wanted to domineer over the government, impoſed laws on the wife dauphin, and forced him to odious ſubmiſſions. The great charter of the Engliſh had almoſt been again produced in France. But

that

that prince at laſt diſpelled the ſtorms. After his acceſſion to the throne, he repaired the loſſes of the nation, triumphed over his domeſtick as well as foreign enemies, and reigned with equal authority and glory. Never did wiſdom more clearly diſplay its reſources. But the misfortunes of Charles VI. ſoon overturned all that had been done by Charles V. The rage of factions, which almoſt univerſally prevailed, ſo entirely deſtroyed all idea of principles, laws, and country, that men did not bluſh to ſacrifice the crown to the king of England, who fought againſt it. A foreign prince was acknowledged as lawful king; and the Salick law was trampled under foot, a little after the moſt ſolemn homage had been paid to it. Yet, though it may ſeem incredible, this total overthrow of the monarchy was one of the cauſes which led to the reeſtabliſhment of order and ſubordination. The more the French had been miſled by a ſpirit of infatuation, the more eagerly did they return to their duty. The more they ſaw the royal authority debaſed, even by their own fault, the more did they perceive the neceſſity and advantage of peaceable obedience.

Charles V. recovers the authority.

It falls under Charles VI.

but to revive in a ſhort time.

10. Accordingly Charles VII. made two deciſive innovations, without the leaſt oppoſition. He took troops into his pay, and the crown had a ſtanding army. He eſtabliſhed the perpetual taille for their ſubſiſtence; and from that time the crown depended leſs upon the ſubſidies granted by the ſtates. It is not to be queſtioned that theſe helps were ſometimes abuſed. The military power became an inſtrument in the

A ſtanding army, and perpetual taille, under Charles VII.

the hands of ambition. The taille, which was originally very ſmall, perpetually increaſed, and occaſioned murmurs. But are theſe inconveniences comparable to the ſcourges of anarchy? Evil is almoſt conſtantly the companion of good; and to paſs from great to lighter ills, is often the utmoſt good poſſible, in a ſtate where neither the manners nor other circumſtances will permit the eſtabliſhment of a wiſe and ſolid legiſlation.

Louis XI. makes himſelf abſolute.

11. Louis XI. ſon of Charles VII. already affected deſpotiſm. He made the great men tremble by his cruelties; accumulated a treaſure at the expenſe of the people; artfully employed corruption rather than arms; avoided war, inſtead of which he ſubſtituted artifice, confining his ambition to the eſtabliſhment of abſolute authority in his own kingdom; and every day increaſed his power. The death of Charles, laſt duke of Burgundy, likewiſe favoured his deſigns, notwithſtanding the irreparable fault with which he is reproached, in not having prevented the marriage of that prince's heireſs with an archduke of Auſtria. His reign forms an important epocha. The kings had the publick ſtrength in their hands, and were able to execute great enterpriſes. Happy had they directed their labours to the felicity of the nation, rather than indulged a deſtructive paſſion for conqueſts; Charles VIII. Louis XII. and Francis I. were little acquainted with their own intereſts. What folly was it to exhauſt in foreign countries the blood and riches of the nation, which a good uſe of authority

thority ought to have rendered ſo flouriſhing!

His ſucceſſors are truly monarchs.

12. All the great fiefs, except the earldom of Flanders, were reunited to the crown. Its domain was made unalienable, and that eſſential principle was declared a fundamental law of the monarchy. Beſides, the ancient inconveniences of the appanages were removed. The care of the finances, juſtice, legiſlation, and the military power, centred in the ſovereign. He was therefore fully monarch. The ſtates general were not even aſſembled once during the reign of Francis I. while the nation was engaged in ſo long and ruinous wars. This aſſembly, which did not certainly know its own rights, which had neither principles, harmony, nor union, was only called to grant extraordinary aids. Francis found means to manage his affairs without ſuch helps; not even Henry VIII. in England, nor Charles V. in Spain, enjoyed ſo great power.

No aſſembly of the ſtates general under Francis I.

The government reeſtabliſhed under Henry IV.

13. The fanaticiſm of the ſectaries, rouſed by perſecution or another fanaticiſm, revived the ſpirit of independence, and ſhook the throne. Projects were formed for a republick, and had well nigh been executed in France, as they were in the Low Countries. But at laſt Henry IV. triumphed over the factious. The wiſdom of his adminiſtration gives us the picture of a beneficent monarch, governing by the laws, and making the glory and happineſs of the kingdom his only aim; ruling his people as a father rules his children: In a word, a prince whoſe ſingle reign would have raiſed France to the height of

proſperity,

prosperity, had he not been cut off in his course by a superstitious monster.

Govern-ment of cardinal de Richelieu.

14. After him the nation fell back into the troubles of a stormy minority. The faults of government revived the dissensions and rebellions; and a weak king, who abandoned himself to favourites, was neither proper to dissipate cabals, nor to reign in a manner worthy of the son of Henry the Great. Take Richelieu from Louis XIII. perhaps we should see the reign of Henry III. revive. Had it not been for this haughty minister, the crown would have been debased. By taking of Rochelle, and thus crushing the republican spirit of Calvinism; by striking off the heads of many illustrious men, who were leaders of the party; he put the king in possession of the whole authority, or rather attached it entirely to his own ministry. Was the monarchical power so dear to the French, and so necessary to their happiness, to contract the vices of tyranny? Unhappily, Richelieu had the spirit of a despot; and circumstances hurried him into excesses, to which he was himself but too much inclined. He loaded the nation with imposts, and in a manner insulted the publick misery, by the pomp of his court. He insisted on the parliament paying implicit obedience, without examining the edicts, or debating freely; treated the magistrates as slaves, rather than as depositaries of the laws; caused the great men, whose ruin he had sworn, to be tried by judges whom he regarded as servile instruments of his vengeance; and directed their sentences, without even deigning to put on the

His excessive authority.

appearance

appearance of impartiality. In one word, arbitrary power diſplayed itſelf with ſuch violence in his hands, that hatred purſued him to the grave, notwithſtanding the real ſervices which he did to the monarchy.

Seeds of rebellion which he left behind him.

To ſtrengthen authority, to reduce the great men to a ſtate of dependence, and make all the members of the body politick move by the direction of a ſingle head, was an important advantage; but it cannot be too often repeated, that the prudence of Henry IV. his juſtice, his mildneſs, and his beneficence, with the vigour of his genius, were more proper to give permanency to this great work, than the thunders of Richelieu. Nothing but a reign, ſuch as we ſhall ſee that of Louis XIV. was capable of ſmothering the ſeeds of diſcord which the miniſter of Louis XIII. left in the nation. Terrour and executions were much leſs effectual inſtruments, than a better knowledge of the ſanctity of the laws, a clearer diſcuſſion of the principles of government, the propagation of knowledge among the people, the humanity of the court, the gentle manners and politeneſs of the great men and nobility, the beſtowal or hope of favours, the ſubmiſſion of the magiſtrates, the ſplendour of the throne, the reciprocal love of the king for the people, and of the people for the king.

All the monarchies paſſed nearly through the ſame changes.

It would be eaſy to apply the principal ſtrokes in this picture to the different monarchical ſtates. The government has every where undergone ſimilar viciſſitudes, and changed its form by the ſame ſteps. The people every where enjoyed at

firſt

firſt almoſt unbounded liberty, but afterwards became ſlaves; the lords roſe into tyrants, and the kings were without power. The royal authority every where revived with difficulty, gathered ſtrength by employing a greater or leſs degree of dexterity, and floated between the ſhoals of weakneſs and deſpotiſm, till at laſt it ſubjected all the orders of the ſtate, and concentrated in itſelf all the powers; acknowledging no fundamental laws, but thoſe which it obliges itſelf to reſpect.

I ſpeak not of mixed monarchies: We ſhall ſee the great revolution of England in its place. Two illuſtrious republicks merit particular obſervations.

II.

GOVERNMENT OF THE SWISS REPUBLICK, AND THAT OF HOLLAND.

Tyranny paves the way to liberty.

AMONG a ſpirited people, tyranny has been always productive of liberty. Oppreſſed after being free, they have taken arms againſt their tyrants; even defied death, in order to break the yoke of oppreſſion, and carried their point by heroiſm and perſeverance. Happy in their independence, if they ſtrengthen their government by good laws, and ſuch as are proper to guard againſt the cauſes of diſſolution, ariſing either from the nature of things or political events.

Origin of the Helvetick league.

No ſtate appears leſs expoſed to this, than the confederated republick of the thirteen Swiſs Cantons.

tons. It took its riſe in 1307, and was at firſt compoſed only of three cantons, Schwitz, Uri, and Underwalden, which revolted againſt the emperour Albert. In a ſhort time Lucerne joined the confederacy, which was afterwards ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of Zurich, Zug, Glaris, and Berne. Friburg and Soleure joined it in 1481; Bâle, Schaffhauſen, and Appenzel, entered into it at the beginning of the ſixteenth century. Theſe members of the Helvetick body were naturally united by a common intereſt; and to this union they owed their ſtrength and ſecurity. Independent on one another, governed each by their own laws and magiſtrates, but leagued for mutual defence, they have acquired a laſting tranquillity amidſt the convulſions of Europe.

Happineſs of the Swiſs founded on their manners.

One of our Sybarites, at ſight of their rugged mountains covered with ſnow, their towns without luxury or publick diverſions, and almoſt all poor, will look upon the Swiſs as unhappy. But the ſage will perceive, that their happineſs conſiſts in that active poverty, and that maſculine ſimplicity, which confine their wants, and furniſh neceſſaries; preſerve their morals, and give a zeſt to the true pleaſures of nature; which make men virtuous, free, and content. All being on a level, that is, equally ſubject to the laws, the difference of fortune is not ſufficiently great among them to enable any to become maſters of the others. In moſt of the cantons the people has the right of bearing offices; and the magiſtrates cannot abuſe a power which is limited by time, and reſtrained by the publick

 ſuperintendence.

ſuperintendence. Simple and equitable laws are executed without conſtraint; and the ſtatutes acquire their greateſt ſtrength from the manners.

They have nothing to fear.

The Swiſs have nothing to fear behind their mountains, which ſerve them as ramparts; and as they do not enter into the quarrels of princes, they afford no pretence for invaſion; on the contrary, it ſeems the intereſt of their neighbours rather to defend than ſubdue them. And in caſe of invaſion, what reſources would they not have in their patriotiſm and courage? If they ſell their blood to foreign nations, they by this means have the advantage of training a number of their citizens to be expert ſoldiers, while it coſts the republick nothing to form them to the trade of war. They keep up the national bravery, at the ſame time that they ſupply the reſources of a barren and extremely populous country.

United and peaceable, notwithſtanding the difference of religion.

A ſingular proof of their prudence is, that their political harmony makes them almoſt forget the difference of religion. The civil wars which fanaticiſm kindled at the beginning of the reformation, were extinguiſhed in a ſhort time. Four proteſtant cantons, Bâle, Schaffhauſen, Berne, and Zurich; two, Glaris and Appenzel, containing a mixture of proteſtants and catholicks; and the ſeven others, which are entirely catholicks, formed a peaceable union, even at the time when Europe was ſtill reeking with the blood which had been ſpilt under the pretence of religion. The greater progreſs that knowledge made among the Swiſs, the more convincing was that leſſon of chriſtian morality,

rality, that all men are brethren, and that no difference in doctrine ought to break ſo reſpectable ties.

As every thing degenerates with time, that people ought to guard againſt corruption, which deſtroys virtue and the ſtrength of republicks. The ariſtocratical government, riches, and power of the canton of Berne ſeem to preſage, at a diſtance, ſome fatal event. Foreign manners, after tainting a number of the citizens, may ſpread their infection into the body of the ſtate. Too great avidity for money may make their hearts venal, and fill them with mean ſelfiſhneſs, inſtead of love for their country; and what muſt then be the fate of a ſtate whoſe ſtability is principally founded on the morals of its members?

May they guard againſt corruption.

The United Provinces are far from having a conſtitution equally robuſt with that of the Swiſs. That republick, it is true, ſhewed, at its origin, the ſame virtues, the ſame courage, the ſimple manners of poverty, invincible hatred againſt tyranny, wonderful firmneſs in dangers, and a vigour of reſolution which could not be ſhaken by the overgrown power of the Spaniſh monarchs. But beſides that thoſe brave republicans were principally actuated by religious fanaticiſm, the ſtrength of which ſoon wears out, their vaſt conqueſts, and the treaſures which they drew from them, neceſſarily introduced a change of principles. How could the ſpirit of ambition and commerce be made compatible with the ancient republican virtues?

Change of manners in Holland.

Faults in the conſtitution of its government.

Beſides, the faults of the government were, at the beginning, ſo conſiderable, that, according to Grotius, they would have deſtroyed the republick, had it not been for the hatred with which it was inflamed againſt the Spaniſh yoke. Each of the ſeven provinces forms a ſeparate independent ſtate, and every city in each province enjoys the ſame independence. If an affair is propoſed in the provincial ſtates, the deputies are obliged to follow the advice of the ſenate, or council of the towns which they repreſent. The affairs of greateſt moment, peace, war, alliances, and new taxes, muſt be decided by the unanimous conſent of the ſtates general, which are always aſſembled at the Hague; and its members are, in all affairs, to conſult the provinces, from whoſe opinion they muſt not make the leaſt variation. Friezland alone truſts to the prudence of its deputies. We ſee at firſt view the trammels in which government is confined by thoſe exceſſive precautions, the delays which they occaſion, and how repugnant the required unanimity is to the end of deliberations on matters that require expedition.

Stadtholderſhip, its too great privileges.

It therefore became neceſſary to ſeek a remedy for the evil, from the firſt eſtabliſhment of the government; and the ſtadtholderſhip was ſet up; a dignity as neceſſary as the Roman dictatorſhip in very tempeſtuous times; but which ought to have had a fixed period, and, above all, not to have been made hereditary, if the republick had taken proper meaſures for ſecuring that liberty of which it was ſo jealous. The

privileges

privileges of the ſtadtholder are exceſſively great. He is general and admiral in chief, with the nomination to all military employments: He likewiſe chooſes the magiſtrates of the towns, which preſent to him a certain number of perſons, from whom he makes his election; he preſides in the courts of juſtice, where ſentence is given in his name; judges without appeal the differences of cities and provinces; executes the decrees of provincial ſtates; has the power of granting pardon to criminals; laſtly, he gives audience to foreign miniſters; and has a right to keep agents in the courts for the management of his private affairs, who have every opportunity of ſerving him in other matters. Such a magiſtrate approaches nearly to regal power; and even from the beginning his prerogatives were ſufficient to give uneaſineſs.

The firſt ſtadtholders were patriots.

Happily the princes of Orange, William, his ſon Maurice, and Frederick Henry, brother of Maurice, managed the ſtadtholderſhip like good patriots, or at leaſt their ambition had bounds; and to them ought, in great meaſure, to be attributed the ſucceſſes of Holland; though perhaps they paid ſo great reſpect to liberty, only becauſe there were enemies to vanquiſh. But the peace of Weſtphalia had no ſooner eſtabliſhed the victorious commonwealth, than William II. ſon and ſucceſſor of Frederick Henry, filled the republicans with juſt alarms.

Revolution in the ſtadtholderſhip.

Death interrupted his projects in 1660, when the dignity of ſtadtholder was aboliſhed, but the faults of the government were not corrected.

rected. It was ſoon found neceſſary to reſtore it, in order to oppoſe Louis XIV. It was made hereditary under William III. once more attempted to be aboliſhed, upon his dying without iſſue male; again reſtored, in favour of the ſecond branch of his family; and the inheritance extended even to the daughters of the ſtadtholder, as we ſhall ſee in another place.

The Dutch expoſed to danger by their manners.

Whoever reflects on the conſtitution, genius, character, and manners of the Dutch, a people entirely addicted to commerce, defended only by an ill diſciplined mercenary army, no longer poſſeſſed of that vigour which liberty, ſpringing up, and environed with danger, gives to the mind; whoever, I ſay, examines theſe cauſes, political or moral, will diſcover in them the principles of the events which have already happened, and perhaps be enabled to foreſee thoſe which certain conjunctures may bring on.

Short ſketch of the other republicks.

Let us repreſent to ourſelves Genoa, rich and deſtitute of power, ruled by a rigid ariſtocracy, varying at the pleaſure of factions, or with every change of events, and conſtantly threatened with a foreign yoke, which it is almoſt impoſſible for it to avoid. Let us take a view of Venice, undiſturbed at home by the ſlaviſh ſpirit of the people, and the chains which the reſtleſs jealouſy of power has forged for the nobles, but which owes this tranquillity as much to the depravation of manners as to the invariable principles of its government, ſupporting itſelf by ſpies and terrour, more than by the influence of the laws; deprived of that extenſive commerce which formed the baſis of its

power,

power, expoſed more than ever to the attempts of its neighbours in caſe of a rupture, and not daring to truſt one of its own members with the ſword, which would put the preſervation of the ſtate into his power. Let us take a view of Poland, plunged into anarchy even by its laws, and ſo unluckily conſtituted, that a ſingle madman, in its diets, is ſure of rendering ineffectual every ſalutary meaſure which wiſdom can contrive; and laſtly, caſt our eyes upon Holland, enervated by its riches as well as its conqueſts, much leſs free in its internal government, and leſs reſpectable abroad than in thoſe tempeſtuous times when it ſeemed ready to be cruſhed by the Spaniſh monarchy. This examination will convince us, that, in order to form a real republick, the people muſt be warlike, poor, virtuous, ſeparated from their neighbours, defended by their frontiers and their manners, and ſolely ambitious of maintaining their liberty, laws, and government; in a word, a people ſuch as the Swiſs.

III.

Revolutions in the Manners.

THERE is a reciprocal influence between the manners and government; and we every where ſee the political conſtitution, in a greater or leſs degree, follow the changes of the moral order. Both are connected and combined in ſuch a manner, that their relations cannot eſcape attentive eyes. The obſervations on the manners,

Reciprocal influence of the manners and government.

manners, which I have ſcattered in this work, account for part of the events; and I ſhall here add ſome other remarks, equally important.

The cruſades firſt introduced a change in the manners.

When the weſtern nations were led by the cruſades into the Eaſt, new ideas, produced by entirely new objects, ſowed the ſeeds of a revolution. Not only the Greeks, but the Saracens, ſhewed the cruſaders a model of more refined manners, of a more agreeable and convenient intercourſe in ſociety. At Conſtantinople they ſaw the magnificent monuments of the arts, and became acquainted with the Aſiatick pleaſures. Commerce opened to the Italians and Flemings a ſource of wealth: Men of different countries grew into acquaintance, learned to treat with each other, and communicated ideas and inclinations more worthy of ſocial life. This firſt ſtep was important.

It was increaſed by chivalry.

Chivalry, which was brought into faſhion by the Saracens of Spain, notwithſtanding its romantick extravagances, became a principle extremely uſeful for the civilization of manners, and even mitigated the horrours of war. The gallant knights diſtinguiſhed themſelves by devoting their lives to the defence of the weak and unhappy, placed the point of honour in generoſity as well as courage, and were as ambitious of gaining the eſteem of their enemies, as of victory itſelf. After the example of St. Louis, and a multitude of French heroes, Edward III. and above all his ſon, the prince of Wales, were models in this kind. The maxims inculcated on young people in the ſchools of chivalry, the habits which they there contracted,

the

the ſentiments of honour foſtered by enthuſiaſm, neceſſarily produced laſting and remarkable effects.

One of the principal ſprings of chivalry was love. This paſſion, which is ſo frequently pernicious, was the nurſe of heroiſm among the Spartans, and had the ſame influence among the Celts and ancient Germans; nations which looked upon the women with a religious eye, revered in them the manly virtues adorned by the charms of the ſex, and joined to love ſentiments the more noble, as they looked upon the conjugal tie to be inviolable. Doubtleſs there remained in Europe a ground work of thoſe Celtick manners. We ſee heroines ſhine in the career of arms, as well as knights. We ſee the knights paying a kind of religious homage to their ladies; dedicating to them their thoughts, exploits, and triumphs.

Love a grand ſpring in chivalry.

When the Troubadours, the firſt provençal poets, began to deify the fair ſex, and their ſongs became the delight of the courts, the ſpirit of gallantry ſpread more widely. It is eaſy to imagine, that this pure, and in a manner myſtick love, ſo much celebrated by romance writers and poets, often degenerated into groſs voluptuouſneſs; but it formed a commerce of wit and ſentiment, which ſoftened the rudeneſs of ancient manners.

The poets inſpire a taſte for gallantry.

The delicacy, ſenſibility, graces, and inſinuations of the women, the empire of beauty, which they exerciſe with ſo much addreſs, the ſecret of chaining the men round them in the fetters of pleaſure, neceſſarily increaſed the politeneſs

The women poliſh the manners, but with great inconveniences.

liteneſs of ſociety, when they appeared in it with freedom and luſtre: But it is likewiſe to be conſidered, what dangerous paſſions, intrigues, and diſturbances, they fomented. Francis I. having brought them to court, they ſoon played ſo conſiderable a part, as to make the affairs of ſtate frequently depend upon their whims. The kings and the great men had miſtreſſes, whom they were obliged to enrich, and to whom they were ſometimes under a neceſſity of ſacrificing every thing. The common method uſed by Catharine Medici, for the execution of her ambitious projects, was ſeducing men's hearts by the attractions and artifices of her women. Her's was the reign of corruptive gallantry.

Corruption ſprung from Italy.

Mankind then fell into a dreadful depravation of manners, which firſt ſprung up in Italy from the luxury of the Medicis; a cruel refinement of policy, which ſupplied the want of power by villany, or the abuſe made of ſciences and talents to gratify the paſſions. From thence it ſpread like a peſtilence mingled with the air. All the vices were ſublimed; and, what rendered the caſe more unhappy, they were founded upon principles reduced to a ſyſtem, and it was matter of boaſt to be ingeniouſly miſchievous and corrupted.

Vices of the court.

The court became a theatre of voluptuouſneſs, luxury, effeminacy, debauchery, and knavery; where the cultivation of the underſtanding, and the taſte for letters, produced more poiſonous fruits than real advantages; where men piqued themſelves on their wit, by giving

giving a looſe to diſorders; where they reaſoned on religion while they were projecting the blackeſt crimes; where the fury of faction was inflamed in the lap of pleaſures; and where a thouſand deteſtable examples tended to infect the publick manners.

Had the fanaticiſm of the proteſtants been leſs violent, the contagion would have had a more rapid and extenſive courſe. Their auſtere doctrine, their invectives againſt the diſgrace brought upon religion, and the conſequences which they drew from thence, to the advantage of the reformation, were a bridle to the catholicks. The diſputes on the points of faith filled both parties with a malignant and ſavage animoſity. Religious zeal abſorbed every other ſentiment; enthuſiaſm and violence every day added bitterneſs to their hatred; and, to conclude, the atrocity of the civil wars, where the name of God was the ordinary ſignal for murder, preſerved in ſociety the traces of the ancient barbarity.

Fanaticiſm maintains the authority of the ancient manners.

Beſides, the arts and commerce being confined within a narrow circle, had not greatly propagated luxury, nor that effeminacy which is its inſeparable concomitant. The ladies yet travelled on horſeback. Almoſt all the conveniences which we enjoy were unknown. In general, the nobility diſdained ſtudy, hated repoſe, and breathed only a paſſion for arms. In the midſt of the convulſions of the ſtate, rivers of blood were ſpilt, from the falſe point of honour alone. This is a ſubject which deſerves conſideration.

The nobility yet little addicted to luxury or ſtudy.

That

The cuſtom of duels deeply rooted.

That barbarians ſhould decide their differences by duel; that it ſhould be often preſcribed by the laws themſelves, may be looked upon as a cuſtom naturally reſulting from the ſavage manners of thoſe nations, the ignorance of the legiſlators and judges, and their want of ability to eſtabliſh better regulations; in a word, from thoſe prejudices which are the concomitants of barbariſm. The Roman juriſprudence, with the changes which it occaſioned, and the intereſt princes had in eſtabliſhing it, could not alter the manners of a turbulent and ungovernable nobility. The high reſpect paid to chivalry, conſecrated the abuſes of valour; the ſpirit of duelling was fomented by its tournaments and challenges. In vain was this cuſtom anathematiſed by the church, and oppoſed by the edicts of the kings; ſuch was its prevalence, that, after judicial combats were formally aboliſhed, there were yet ſeveral inſtances of their being ordered by the judges. Under Philip Valois, Charles VI. and Charles VII. we find *arrêts* of parliament which leave not the leaſt doubt in this reſpect. And what were the facts to be proved? One of them adultery, another inceſt. Henry II. commanded a duel to be fought in the beginning of his reign, afterwards ſwore never to permit another, and in a ſhort time broke his oath. The challenges of Francis I. and Charles V. though, like ſo many others given by kings to one another, they produced no effect, had made military men more ready to take offence than ever, and more untractable in their quarrels.

Every

Every law directly repugnant to eſtabliſhed manners, is either productive of almoſt no good, or even attended with a great deal of miſchief, when the current of the manners is too ſtrong for the ſtatutes. The paſſion was irritated by prohibition. As men could no longer combat in liſts with the formalities of juſtice, they fought clandeſtinely for the ſlighteſt cauſes. It was an epidemical madneſs. A word, a geſture, a nothing, obliged them to give or accept a challenge, if they would not forfeit their honour. The relations and friends thought themſelves obliged to take a ſhare in theſe murderous quarrels, according to the cuſtom of the ancient Germans. Near eight thouſand pardons, granted in leſs than twenty years to duelliſts who had killed their adverſaries, ſufficiently prove to what a prodigious height the miſchief had grown in France. Henry IV. renewed a fruitleſs prohibition, which he himſelf neglected to put in execution. Louis XIII. or cardinal Richelieu, cauſed two noblemen who had fought a duel to be beheaded; a ſeverity equally ineffectual with the law.

Their being forbidden, only multiplied them.

It is an evident proof, that there remained ſtill a ruſt of barbariſm difficult to be cleared off. The real charms of ſociety were little known, the debaucheries of the table making its principal pleaſure. Still leſs were men acquainted with thoſe ſocial qualities which ſpring from enlightened reaſon, and exert themſelves in a pleaſing intercourſe with good company: Nothing was more uncommon than examples of that kind. Yet atrocious abuſes could be extirpated

A new revolution in the manners was neceſſary.

tirpated only by a politeneſs which avoids every appearance of offence, the ſentiments of humanity, good manners, and decorum. A revolution was neceſſary; it was requiſite that men's minds ſhould change their bent, and reaſon give a new turn to the manners. We ſhall ſee a total alteration take place in the reign of Louis XIV.

France was more proper than the reſt of Europe.

In France, the national genius, lively, gay, generous, fond of novelty, extremely ſuſceptible of perfection, leſs confined than elſewhere by the fetters of government and prejudice, ought naturally to make rapid progreſs, when once, having taken its flight, it found itſelf in the right direction. The circumſtances were not the ſame in Spain, Portugal, England, Germany, and the northern kingdoms, where there were more obſtacles to be conquered. Italy, which had greater abundance of models, then found itſelf, by its political ſituation, out of condition to produce all that genius ſeemed to give reaſon to expect. Fear and diſtruſt chain up emulation and the ſocial virtues.

IV.

Decline of the Power of the Romish Court.

The court of Rome not formidable.

THOUGH the prejudices of religion preſerved their influence, yet, after the league, we find no more of thoſe violent ſhocks which the court of Rome gave to the greateſt kingdoms. The reaſon is, that on one ſide the kings

kings had ſtrengthened their power, and on the other, experience made the popes dread new rebellions againſt the Holy See. What danger did not Paul V. run, by fulminating the interdict againſt Venice? Might not the Venetians have followed the example of the Dutch, and ſo many other ſtates? Did not the principles of the ſenate breathe a bold ſpirit of liberty, which it was dangerous to provoke? In our days, Rome would be far from taking ſuch a ſtep.

Yet that enterpriſing court kept up her pretenſions, to enforce them with greater or leſs vigour, according to conjunctures. Attentive to the means of acquiſition, ſhe ſtill extended the limits of a ſtate which was formed by ſkill rather than ſtrength. She even repaired the breaches that had been made in it by nepotiſm. Urban VIII. (Barberino) enriched his nephews without diſmembering the provinces: After the death of the laſt of the Roveros, he reunited to the eccleſiaſtical domain Urbino, Montefeltro, Gubio, Peſaro, and Sinigaglia, which had been poſſeſſed by that family.

Yet Urban VIII. had augmented its territory.

Under his pontificate aroſe the diſpute concerning the dutchy of Caſtro; of which the family of Farneſe was deprived ſoon after. The duke of Parma, Ranuccio I. ſon of the celebrated Alexander, had borrowed large ſums from the *Mount of Piety*, which lends, at intereſt, on pledges or ſecurity. His ſon Odoard having quarrelled with the Barberinos, the pope's nephews, the corn of Caſtro was refuſed to be taken any longer in payment; that prince was obliged to accumulate the arrears of his debt;

Caſtro taken from the family of Farneſe.

debt; he was afterwards required to diſcharge the whole at once; and that being impoſſible, the dutchy of Caſtro was confiſcated, that they might pay themſelves. The duke being ſeconded by the Italian princes, and protected by cardinal Richelieu, took up arms, and triumphed over the Barberinos. In 1644, the dutchy was obliged to be reſtored; but the ſame year, after the death of Urban, Innocent X. confiſcated it anew. It was again reſtored; yet, by dint of negotiations, the apoſtolick chamber found means to get poſſeſſion of it once more, and has kept it ever ſince.

Richelieu embroiled with the pope, and reconciled.

Richelieu, in his quarrels with Urban, ſhewed vigour, ſo far as he was not prompted to relax by his perſonal intereſt. The biſhops were forbidden to ſee a nuncio extraordinary, who had boaſted that the greateſt part would declare in favour of the pope. The vacant hats were a means of reconciliation. The court of Rome had great advantages, by the honours and favours which were left at its diſpoſal. How often has the publick good been ſacrificed to it, from ambition or vanity!

Italian prejudices among the French clergy.

Beſides, it muſt be agreed, that the Italian prejudices prevailed among the French clergy, as well as through the whole Romiſh church. Pithou, and other learned civilians, had brought invincible arguments againſt them; yet they were ſtill maintained by the clergy, though their intereſts were united with thoſe of the crown. The liberties of the Gallican church were reckoned by the generality of that body, I do not ſay problematical, but almoſt erroneous.

In

In the laſt aſſembly of the ſtates general, held in the year 1614, cardinal Perron, celebrated by his embaſſy to Rome in the reign of Henry IV. had expreſſed himſelf rather like an Italian than a French prelate. His ritual of Evreux ſpeaks of the bull *In cœna Domini*, as a ſacred and inviolable law. On the contrary, the third eſtate, in the ſame aſſembly, could not paſs the independence of the crown into a law, and by propoſing it had drawn upon themſelves the clamours of the eccleſiaſtical body. Next year, 1615, the biſhops redoubled their efforts for the publication of the council of Trent; and even bound themſelves by oath, at Paris, to obſerve its decrees, and to appoint provincial ſynods where it ſhould be received with greater ſolemnity. A thing more ſurpriſing is, that the court had a little before annulled an arrêt of parliament, by which the ſovereign was declared independent in temporals.

Cardinal Perron.

Oath of the biſhops in favour of the council of Trent.

Even Richelieu, that miniſter ſo jealous of abſolute authority, joined the perſecutors of Richer, a doctor of the Sorbonne, whoſe crime was, his having proved that the pope was ſubject to a general council, that he is not a monarch in the church, and that princes may interfere in ſuch eccleſiaſtical affairs as do not concern the faith. Richer was impriſoned, and would have been delivered up to the pope, had not the chancellor and parliament been active in his defence. F. Joſeph du Tremblay, a famous capuchin, half enthuſiaſt, half knave, the friend and emiſſary of the miniſter, had inveigled the doctor to his houſe, and ſuddenly

Richer perſecuted by Richelieu.

introducing a gang of murderers, forced from him a recantation, in preſence of an apoſtolick notary, which Richer always reproached himſelf for having ſigned. This was called ſerving the church.

Uſeful reflection for the ſlaves of prejudice.

How can even the ſlaves of opinion reſiſt examples ſo ſtriking? After tracing down the hiſtory of the ſeveral ages, how can they not feel the neceſſity of examining the deciſions of their maſters? Do they not find, through the whole world, a multitude of abſurd errours, long conſecrated by ſuperſtition and ignorance, and afterwards acknowledged with difficulty for what they actually are? Was it doubted that the popes had a right to depoſe excommunicated princes, when they exerciſed that extraordinary privilege, and lighted up civil wars, by a bull? Was their infallibility, though ſtill more extraordinary, called in queſtion, when it cauſed decrees to be received, which were equally contrary to equity and reaſon? Did the clergy of France, at preſent ſo eſtimable, entertain any doubt, in the reigns of Henry III. and Henry IV. that hereſy ought to exclude a prince from the throne? Did they think in the time of Louis XIII. as they afterwards did in that of Louis XIV.? And do they not in our days look with contempt upon ſome falſe notions, which, at the beginning of the century, they thought it their duty to maintain?

Progreſs and fall of religious prejudices.

Such is the fate of religious prejudices, which have not divine faith for their foundation. They are believed at firſt, becauſe men are blind. By degrees they are qualified, when

men

men dare to open their eyes on their falſehood, and then they fall of themſelves. Happy are men when poſſeſſed only of religion, inſtead of ſo many pernicious ſuperſtitions!

Good books condemned, becauſe they diſpleaſed at Rome.

Rome was too much intereſted in maintaining her principles, not to raiſe every imaginable barrier againſt what might deſtroy them. Hence that *index* of prohibited books, into which were put ſome excellent compoſitions; for inſtance, the hiſtory of the preſident de Thou, the works on the liberties of the Gallican church, and (who could have believed it?) the tranſlations of the Holy Scriptures. Hence the anathemas and perſecutions againſt the efforts of the human mind to diſcover and propagate the truth: As if the catholick faith was founded upon contemptible ignorance! As if its enemies were not furniſhed with arguments againſt it, from this dread of its being injured by the approach of light! Let us declare it boldly, the ſhame of the ancient inquiſitors, in every country, is ſtamped on the good works which they have condemned; and to have ſhaken off the yoke of their tribunal, conſtitutes, in part, the happineſs of nations.

Contradictory ſentences paſſed on books, worthy of reflection.

The contrariety of the ſentences paſſed on books might furniſh matter for new reflections. Even in Spain they were frequently different from thoſe given at Rome: The eccleſiaſtical annals of cardinal Baronius were condemned there, becauſe they controverted the *monarchy of Sicily*, the right of legation granted to the Norman kings. What was condemned at Rome from one motive, met with the like fate in

other countries on a different account. There the doctrine of cardinal Bellarmin was proſcribed, becauſe it denied the pope a direct power over the kings in temporals; in France, a mark of diſgrace was fixed upon it by the parliament, becauſe it attributed to the pope an indirect power, which at bottom had the ſame conſequences. To conclude, the tribunal of Rome, though always ready to condemn judicious authors upon frivolous ſuſpicions of hereſy, approved thoſe ſeditiouſly fanatical theologiſts, whoſe writings tended to the encouragement of regicide, and the deſtruction of governments. The approbation and cenſure of books deſerve a place in the hiſtory of the human mind.

The court of Rome beſtows titles.

Notwithſtanding almoſt all the catholick clergy were ſo entirely devoted to the court of Rome, ſhe loſt much of her influence and power from the time that the civilians acquired knowledge, and the ſovereigns firmly eſtabliſhed their authority. She was therefore obliged to give a value to trifles. If ſhe could not command, ſhe endeavoured to dazzle. In 1630, the cardinals petitioned Urban VIII. that their title of *Moſt Illuſtrious* ſhould be changed into *Moſt Eminent*; that, except emperours and kings, every one ſhould be obliged to give it them in converſation, and in their letters; otherwiſe they would not receive the letters, nor ever after ſee the perſons; and, laſtly, that if any prelate, even a patriarch, dared to take the title of *Eminence*, he ſhould incur the indignation of the Holy See, and be *ipſo facto* deprived of the revenue

Petition of the cardinals for the title of *Eminence*.

enue of his benefices; all which requeſts were granted by the pope. From that time the biſhops have likewiſe deſired pompous titles. They were ſtyled—*Reverend Father*, *Your Reverence*; but they have acquired the appellations of—*My Lord*, and *Your Greatneſs*; and *Reverence* is left to the monks.

Singular diſpute between the Capuchins and other Franciſcans.

Urban, who is extolled for his erudition, love of learning, and talent for poetry, employed himſelf ſeriouſly in affairs which ſeemed only proper for the times of barbariſm. The order of the Capuchins had been eſtabliſhed about a century; and their reformation, multiplication, and the preference given them, could not fail of diſpleaſing the other Franciſcans, who obſtinately diſputed with them the title of children of St. Francis; and, to elude a bull of Paul V. in their favour, maintained, that if they were deſcended from the holy founder, at leaſt it was not in a right line. However, the title of the Capuchins was ſecured by a bull publiſhed in 1627, declaring that their inſtitution takes its date from the beginning of the ſeraphick rule, becauſe they have always obſerved it. Another quarrel aroſe between them and the Recollets, on account of the form of their habits; and the pope determined by bull, under pain of excommunication, what dreſs they ſhould all wear.

Bulls on this ſubject.

Theſe trifles ſerve to paint the ſpirit of the times; and to theſe we might join the abſurd privileges laviſhed on the ſeveral religious orders, to free them from all authority, except that of the pope. This was a thing to which the

the clergy and courts of juſtice in France were far from conſenting. But let us paſs to thoſe theological matters which affected the intereſts of ſociety.

V.

THEOLOGY.——CASUISTS.——PERNICIOUS DISPUTES.

Scholaſtick theology in the time of Eraſmus.

ERASMUS expoſed himſelf to the moſt bitter reproaches, by turning into ridicule the theologians of his time; but did ſervice to religion, and gave a proof of the ſolidity of his genius. Scholaſtick theology, the only one then known, being infected with the reveries of Arabick peripateticiſm, was commonly a barbarous, unintelligible jargon, which degraded the ſimplicity of the chriſtian faith by obſcure futilities, disfigured the doctrines by extravagant explications, and drowned a ſmall number of ſacred truths in a ſea of frivolous and inſoluble queſtions; diſputing on *formal* and *material* objects, on the *diſtinctions of the* ratio ratiocinata *and* ratio ratiocinans; in a word, upon terms which never anſwered to any idea. Thoſe grave doctors, looking down from their chair with contempt even upon the learned, thought themſelves the organs of divine truth when they quoted a paſſage from St. Thomas or Scotus. They were little acquainted with the Bible, ſtill leſs with the ancient fathers, and leaſt of all with eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. Their ſophiſms, ſupported by paſſages which often proved nothing,

ing, ſtood inſtead of all certainty; and yet their ſchools reſounded with diſputes that never could be brought to an end.

The proteſtants cauſe the revival of more uſeful ſtudies.

This, as we have obſerved, was a ſubject of triumph to Luther and the proteſtants. With the arms of erudition and criticiſm, they diſcomfited ridiculous adverſaries, whoſe pride would never ſuffer them to acknowledge that they were in the wrong, and who commonly defended themſelves only with abſurdities. It is not to be doubted that the innovators abuſed thoſe arms, which, however, were neceſſary to vanquiſh them; and, in conſequence, the neceſſity of combating them gave birth to true theology; that is, to the ſtudy of the Holy Scriptures, tradition, and the councils. The learned languages became an object of application, the ſacred doctrines were drawn from their ſource, and a plan of controverſy was purſued, which ſet the truth in open light. The Jeſuit Bellarmin was of great ſervice in opening this career.

Yet the faulty ſcholaſtick divinity was perpetuated.

Yet the theologians did not quit their taſte for the ſcholaſtick method, and it has been perpetuated to this day in ſeveral ſchools. Hence comes it, that a number of men of ſuperiour genius have in theſe places contracted ſo ſtrong an averſion from a barren ſtudy, and perhaps have quitted them with leſs conviction of the truth of a religion in which they had been ſo ill inſtructed. Falſe theology has probably increaſed the number of infidels; and how many real friends to religion has it not cauſed to waſte their abilities in ſophiſms!

The

Hence ſprung pernicious diſcords.

The evil would have been leſs, had it produced only a waſte of time, had not diſcord awakened in the ſchools afterwards to ſhake the chriſtian world. But intereſt or bigotry to a particular order, enthuſiaſm, ſuperſtition, and the *theological hatred*, which grew too remarkable, rendered theſe diſputes as pernicious as they were publick. The ſame cauſes revived in the Weſt thoſe troubles which had been ſtirred up in the Eaſt by the monks. Had it not been for the rivalſhip between the Dominicans and Auguſtins, Lutheraniſm would perhaps have fallen into oblivion. Numerous and active bodies ſpread in every quarter, preachers, confeſſors, teachers, jealous of each other, were the more to be dreaded in theology, as they gave to their peculiar opinions the importance of the moſt neceſſary truths.

Violent diſputes on the immaculate conception.

The Dominicans and Cordeliers diſputed for ſome centuries on the *immaculate conception*. The firſt maintained, that the Holy Virgin participated in the ſin of Adam; the ſecond, that ſhe was born free from original ſin. All Spain was thrown into a ferment by this diſpute, in which all Europe took a part. Not only ſocieties of divines, but bodies of magiſtrates, bound themſelves by oath to ſupport the glory of Mary, which was made to depend upon the opinion of the Cordeliers; and their antagoniſts were run down as enemies to the Mother of God, and her Son. In order to defend a doctrine ſo zealouſly oppoſed, the Dominicans ſometimes joined pious frauds to arguments. They forged miracles, becauſe the ſame arms

were

were uſed againſt them; and even were guilty of a crying impoſture at Berne, which ſtirred up the Swiſs againſt the Romiſh church, while Zuinglius was preaching the reformation. They were oppoſed by the devotees, but their credit was great at Rome; and their opinion has not been condemned, though the contrary doctrine ſeems to be conſecrated by the inſtitution of a ſolemn feſtival. It is likewiſe diſputed, whether the Virgin was ſpotleſs at the firſt or the ſecond moment of her conception. Happily this diſpute remains in the duſt of the ſchools.

The Jeſuits oppoſe the Dominicans.

With the Jeſuits, who took their birth in the midſt of controverſy, and are the keeneſt theologians that the world has produced, aroſe new troubles, which could not be appeaſed but by the deſtruction of the order. Being rivals of the Dominicans, they at firſt ſhewed themſelves zealous defenders of the prerogatives of the immaculate Virgin, and all the acts of devotion inſtituted in her honour. Soon after was kindled the theological war upon grace; its nature; in what manner it acts upon the will; how it produces good thoughts and good actions in man: Theſe things the theologians pretended to know, though they were the ſecrets of God. The Thomiſts, or Dominicans, had found out a *phyſical præmotion*; the Scotiſts, or Franciſcans, a *prædefinition*; and with theſe high ſounding terms they explained the myſtery, by rendering it more incomprehenſible. Molina, a Spaniſh Jeſuit, from a perſuaſion that their ſyſtems deſtroyed free will, or an ambition to have the glory of eſtabliſhing a new ſect, contrived

Syſtems on grace.

Molina, and the middle ſcience.

trived his *middle ſcience*; by which God foreſees future contingencies, and models his conduct in the diſpenſations of grace, ſo that its efficacy depends upon the foreſeen conſent of the human will. This opinion gave diſguſt. The Dominicans, in particular, cried out pelagianiſm, and ſtirred up the univerſities of Spain, the inquiſition, the biſhops, and the court of Rome. Clement VIII. died when on the point of condemning the doctrine of Molina.

Congregation *de Auxiliis*.

The famous congregation *de Auxiliis*, which he had eſtabliſhed in 1597, to examine Moliniſm, ended only in 1607, under the pontificate of Paul V. The Dominicans and Jeſuits diſputed in theſe aſſemblies without ceaſing, and with the utmoſt violence. The bull of condemnation was drawn up; but the Jeſuits being lately baniſhed from Venice for having conformed to the Pope's interdict, made a merit of their blind obedience to his orders. He prohibited both from condemning each other, and the animoſity ſtill continued, as well as the diſpute.

Prediction of the Jeſuit Henriquez againſt Moliniſm.

Henriquez, a brother of Molina's order, had ſaid, with regard to that theologian's book—"*If ever ſuch a doctrine is ſupported by powerful and ſubtil men belonging to a religious order, it will put the church in danger, and cauſe the loſs of a great number of catholicks.*" It is viſible what ſenſe theſe words bore in the mouth of a man who confined his views to theology: He was apprehenſive for the doctrine of grace. But, conſidering matters in a temporal view, the prediction will appear more juſt.

When

When a powerful and political order of men embraced a new doctrine, they muſt naturally ſet every ſpring in motion to eſtabliſh it, even on the ruins of their antagoniſts. And hence, how many ſtorms aroſe in the church! How many cabals in ſociety! How many worthy men were ſacrificed by falſe zeal! And what miſchiefs brought upon religion, which is ſo unjuſtly charged with the faults of its miniſters! The diſpute concerning grace is become a hydra, one head of which being cut off, produces a number of others, from the implacable ardour for diſputes.

Affair of Baius.

So early as the year 1565, the Cordeliers had lodged an information againſt ſeveral propoſitions of Michael Bay, or Baius, a doctor of Louvain, who, attacking the immaculate conception, ſeemed to them likewiſe to attack the faith on the ſubject of grace; and Pius V. condemned ſeventy three of them as *heretical*, *erroneous*, *ſuſpicious*, *raſh*, and *ſcandalous*, though without ſpecifying any of them in the bull. Thus it was made a matter of diſpute, which of them were heretical, and which not.

Embarraſſment of the doctors of Louvain.

The doctors of Louvain were, above all, embarraſſed by a comma, the poſition of which would fix the ſenſe of a ſentence. They conſulted Rome, and the affair was drawn out to a great length; the diſputes continued in that univerſity till 1580, when Gregory XIII. ſent thither a bull confirming that of Pius V. which Tolet, a celebrated Jeſuit, ſince a cardinal, was ordered to enforce; and ſucceeded, obliging Baius not only to retract his propoſitions, but

to

to acknowledge that he had written them in the ſame ſenſe in which they were condemned.

New diſpute on account of the death of Janſenius.

This triumph of the Jeſuits (for their doctrine directly contradicted that of Baius) prepared the way for Janſeniſm. Cornelius Janſenius, biſhop of Ipres, who was formerly a doctor of Louvain, had written a large book to explain the ſentiments of St. Auguſtine on grace; which was publiſhed in 1640, after his death, immediately attacked by the Jeſuits, and condemned by Urban VIII. in 1642. But the doctors of Louvain treated his bull as ſurreptitious, becauſe it imputed to Janſenius the doctrine of Baius. They ſent a deputation to Rome, and at the end of three years their deputies returned, no farther advanced than they were the firſt day of their journey.

An information lodged againſt his doctrine, which is condemned by Innocent X.

The ſpirit of the French was no leſs turned for controverſy than that of the Flemings; nor were the French Jeſuits leſs bigotted than others to their ſyſtems, which they uſed their utmoſt endeavours to connect with religion. Accordingly the affair of Janſenius, or rather his work, ſoon put the clergy in motion. The abbot of St. Ciran, a friend of the biſhop of Ipres, had propagated his doctrine among ſome men of uncommon merit, ſuch as the celebrated Arnaud, and the learned recluſes of Port Royal. A doctor of the Sorbonne imagining the faith to be in danger, lodged an information againſt ſome propoſitions in the book of Janſenius, and a cenſure of them was on the point of being publiſhed; but it was ſtopped by a writ of errour, entered by ſixty doctors. However, the

affair

affair was profecuted by about fourſcore biſhops, who informed againſt the famous five articles at Rome, and Innocent X. condemned them in 1653, notwithſtanding the utmoſt endeavours of the general of the Dominicans, and the remonſtrances of eleven French prelates.

The five articles.

Theſe articles contain in ſubſtance, 1. That there are ſome commands of God impoſſible to the juſt, becauſe they have not ſufficient grace. 2. That grace is irreſiſtible. 3. That a liberty free from conſtraint, not from neceſſity, is ſufficient to conſtitute merit or demerit. 4. That the ſemi Pelagian hereſy conſiſted in maintaining, that it was poſſible to reſiſt or comply with the motions of grace. 5. That Jeſus Chriſt did not die for all men.

The Janſeniſts abuſed the authority of St. Auguſtine.

A doctrine ſo harſh, and which too much reſembled that of the proteſtants, ſeemed actually ſupported by ſome paſſages of St. Auguſtine. But as the proteſtants were wrong in building upon ſome paſſages of St. Paul, taken literally, in order to combat truths equally conformable to ſcripture and reaſon, Janſenius and his partizans were equally wrong, in refuſing to ſoften the harſheſt expreſſions of St. Auguſtine, who, in the heat of controverſies, was not always conſiſtent with himſelf. If it had been poſſible to define, or even honeſtly to examine, in theology, how far authority ought to extend on each point, the principal root of the diſputes would have been deſtroyed. But the paſſions of the Janſeniſts were too much inflamed not to overleap the proper bounds.

On

Their adverſaries wanted prudence.

On the other hand, was it prudent to make ſo great a noiſe againſt an obſcure book, ſcarcely known by a few doctors? Was it wiſe to awaken quarrels which might be productive of a ſchiſm? Was it juſt to accuſe of hereſy, and to perſecute as hereticks, pious and reſpectable men, always firm in their profeſſion of the catholick faith, as well as their theological opinions? Was it not dangerous to inſpire party zeal by kindling hatred and enthuſiaſm? The conſequences of this affair, which I ſhall reſume elſewhere, were always productive of affliction to the church.

Moral theology.

Another ſpecies of theology brought into faſhion by the monaſtick orders, leſs ſubject to the abuſes of controverſy, becauſe it did not affect the doctrine, yet became another ſource of offences to religion, becauſe it was ſoon corrupted. I ſpeak of *moral theology*, or the ſcience of caſuiſts, which offers us matter for important reflections; nothing being more intereſting than morals.

How morality was taught in the times of antiquity.

Socrates, Plato, Cicero, Seneca, and ſeveral of the Stoicks, had treated morality like philoſophers, eſtabliſhing its duties, and inſpiring the love of virtue, with a ſtrength of reaſon and force of ſentiment worthy of the greatneſs of the ſubject. The fathers of the church had handled it like true paſtors of ſouls, explaining the rules of the goſpel, inculcating them in an affecting manner, and teaching every thing neceſſary for making men live like chriſtians. On the revival of learning, the theologians treated it like ſcholaſticks, by introducing their

ſubtilties

ſubtilties and ſophiſms, making every thing a ſubject of diſpute, ſubſtituting words inſtead of things, embroiling ſimple ideas, and obſcuring fundamental truths by falſe applications. Things grew much worſe when the mendicants took the lead.

It was diſfigured by the ſcholaſticks.

Then private confeſſion became more frequent, and its details more minute. The canonical penances grew into deſuetude every day, and the ancient rules were ſupplied by the particular judgment of the confeſſor, on whom alone it depended to preſcribe the ſatisfaction, and adminiſter abſolution. As he ſtood in need of principles to direct him, it was thought proper to form them into a ſyſtem of ſcience: But inſtead of conſulting the goſpel, the canons, the fathers, and even the dictates of univerſal conſcience, they compoſed, in the ſcholaſtick method, crude, diffuſive treatiſes; a ſpecies of arbitrary codes, where caſes were frequently decided according to the directions of caprice and ignorance; and this career being once laid open, ſwarms of caſuiſts haſtened to complete it.

Why the caſuiſts multiplied.

The diſtinction of ſins into mortal and venial, the one incurring the guilt of damnation, the other not, ought to have ſtopped them at the firſt ſtep, had they reflected on their enterpriſe; for the difference between a venial and mortal ſin being, according to them, as it were, infinite, in what an abyſs muſt they neceſſarily be loſt, when they wanted to ſettle the degree of the ſin in each particular caſe! For example, how could they find the point where theft became

Diſtinction of ſins into mortal and venial.

came a mortal ſin? Would one, two, or ten crowns give it that character, which it could not have below a certain ſum? To ſettle on ſuch foundations rules for conduct, and the expiations neceſſary for ſalvation, is exerciſing the judgment of God with the prejudices of the ſchool; ſubjecting chriſtian morality to the moſt capricious whimſies.

Relaxation produced by the doctrine of the caſuiſts.

One of the firſt fruits of the new ſcience was relaxation, of which Fleuri has given the reaſon—"*The caſuiſts were for the moſt part friars,* "*and of the mendicant orders, who had appro-* "*priated almoſt entirely to themſelves the ſtudy* "*of caſuiſtry, and the adminiſtration of pen-* "*ance. But mendicity is a great obſtacle to* "*ſeverity and firmneſs, with regard to thoſe to* "*whom its profeſſors are indebted for their* "*ſubſiſtence.*" As the ſame author remarks, they committed two eſſential faults; the one, in excuſing ſins by their ſcholaſtick diſtinctions; the other, in making abſolution much too eaſy.—"*That facility,*" adds he, "*ſeemed* "*neceſſary in the countries where the inquiſition* "*prevails, in which the habitual ſinner dares not* "*neglect the Eaſter duty, for fear of being in-* "*formed againſt, excommunicated, at the end of* "*the year declared under ſuſpicion of hereſy, and* "*proſecuted as a heretick; accordingly it is there* "*that we ſee the looſeſt caſuiſts.*" Their doctrine comes almoſt to this—*That a perſon may ſin every day, on condition of confeſſing every day.* (Eighth Diſc. of Fleuri.)

They made every thing problematical.

Certainly diſorders muſt be multiplied by an expiation ſo eaſy. But the caſuiſts did not ſtop here;

here; while they endeavoured to eſtabliſh exactly the diſtinction between ſins, they ſapped even the foundations of morality. Every thing was made problematical. It was a queſtion, whether fraud, revenge, calumny, homicide, rebellion, regicide, could not be lawful. Sometimes they were juſtified by the moſt inſenſate deciſions. That pernicious doctrine of *probability* was invented, which teaches the art of committing ſin with a ſafe conſcience. An opinion became *probable* by the authority of a grave author, or a learned and pious man; and from that time it might be followed with confidence. But almoſt all the caſuiſts of greateſt reputation entertained ſome ſentiment not only falſe, but even contrary to the eſſential principles of civil or chriſtian ſociety. Thus the judges of conſcience ſeemed to teach and authorize crimes.

Probability.

If the morality of the relaxed caſuiſts be compared to that of Cicero's offices, not to ſpeak here of that of the Stoicks, we ſhall ſee that a theology corrupted by ſhameful prejudices, is, in a great degree, inferiour on many eſſential points, even to the light of reaſon. Nor is this matter of ſurpriſe; that claſs of writers reaſoned little, was ill acquainted with the human heart, did not go back to firſt principles, but copied and quoted one another; and a few leaders drew after them a blind multitude, of whom they were the oracles.

The morality of the ancient philoſophers more pure.

The Jeſuits, who entertained an eager fondneſs for every kind of employment, where religion could give dominion over mankind; and were ſometimes excited by zeal, ſometimes by

The Jeſuits bewildered in this career.

rivalſhip and the ſpirit of their order, ſoon ſignalized themſelves in this ſo perilous ſtudy. They not only followed the beaten track, but ſtruck out new paths, and at laſt bewildered themſelves like the others; and the more, as, ſetting out from the ſame principles, they extended their conſequences farther, becauſe in general they purſued a ſyſtem with greater ſkill. Sanchez, a great caſuiſt of their order, whoſe purity of morals they extol, publiſhed a *folio* volume on marriage, where, in ſeveral paſſages, he ſeems to tranſgreſs the rules of modeſty. So many inconveniences did the madneſs of deciding every thing draw after it.

Provincial letters.

The juſt reproaches brought againſt other caſuiſts of the ſociety are ſufficiently known by the *Provincial Letters*. In that ſatire Paſchal diſſembles, that they had borrowed the greateſt part of their opinions from other hands; gives a malicious interpretation to the ſevere morality of ſome Jeſuits, who entertained ſentiments directly oppoſite to the generality; and aſcribes execrable intentions to the whole body, which it is impoſſible to imagine can be entertained by any order of that nature: Yet his maſterly work gives a clear demonſtration, that the abuſes of moral theology, like thoſe of the ſcholaſtick, have been one of the peſts of the human race.

Exceſſes of the rigouriſts.

Every exceſs, even in what is good, produces a real evil. To the relaxed doctors, who flattered the paſſions, were oppoſed a ſet of rigouriſts, that in ſome ſort deſtroyed human nature. Their gloomy miſanthropy, forming extravagant ideas of chriſtian perfection, changed the moſt

moſt harmleſs actions into crimes. They condemned lawful and innocent amuſements, combated thoſe ſentiments and practices, without which it would be impoſſible long to keep up the intercourſe of civil life; impoſed falſe duties, whoſe yoke was only proper to make virtue odious to the generality of mankind; paſſed ſentence of damnation with the ſame eaſe as the others gave abſolution; and, ſupporting their deciſions by ſacred authorities, believed themſelves the ſole apoſtles of evangelical morality, while, in fact, they were making it impracticable. This is the ordinary genius of reformers.

Evils reſulting from the contrariety of deciſions.

What was the reſult of this contraſt? Cruel uneaſineſs to timorous conſciences, and to infidels a ſovereign contempt for the judgment of theologians. One ſchool prohibited, under pain of damnation, what another permitted or openly excuſed; oppoſite deciſions were made in the ſame ſpot; practices adopted with utility in one place, ſeverely prohibited in the neighbourhood; men's minds floated between the more or leſs probable, without having any rule to guide them; ſometimes trifles were aggravated into crimes; ſometimes they flattered themſelves that crimes might be expiated by certain formularies of devotion; the ſame caſuiſt who looked with a favourable eye on practices really vicious, was mercileſsly rigid in matters of no importance; and theſe two extremes were greatly hurtful to the cauſe of chriſtianity and the welfare of ſociety. A clear, preciſe ſyſtem of morality, extracted from the divine law, and a

knowledge of the human heart; an upright conſcience, enlightened by the goſpel and by reaſon, ought to have ſerved as caſuiſts.

A ſpirit of contention even among the miſſionaries.

The ſpirit of contention followed the theologians to the extremities of the world. If heroick zeal tranſported miſſionaries into regions the leaſt known, it very ſeldom eſcaped the bad effects of diſcord, when the apoſtles wore a different habit. In China, where the Jeſuits for ſome time met with ſucceſs, the Dominicans ſoon raiſed a quarrel againſt them on the ſubject of the ceremonies practiſed in honour of the illuſtrious dead. Theſe the Jeſuits looked upon only as civil cuſtoms which ought to be tolerated; but in the eyes of the Dominicans they were criminal idolatries, which it was neceſſary to eradicate. The affair being carried to Rome, has there taken different turns according to the times: But it is ſufficient for us to obſerve, that the Chineſe government was provoked at theſe ſtrange diſputes, which, among people of leſs moderation, have equally ruined the fruit of all the miſſions; and that if the chriſtian faith be declining in Europe, as is but too viſible, it is in a great meaſure owing to a cauſe entirely ſimilar.

Almoſt all religious quarrels take their riſe in the cloiſters.

If we trace hiſtorical facts, or even reflect upon the nature of things, we ſee that almoſt all religious quarrels iſſued from the cloiſters, to ſet the weſtern church in a flame, as had before been done in the Eaſt. The character, the rules, prejudices, influence, and credit of the monks; even their virtues, when not guided by true wiſdom, all concurred perpetually to

renew

renew the flame. Thoſe vaſt bodies, which ſeemed the ſubjects of a foreign power, much more than of the ſtates on whoſe vitals they preyed, ſtill multiplied and ſpread. The ſixteenth century produced the Theatins, the Jeſuits, the Fathers of the Oratory, the Somaſques, the Camaldoli, the Servites, the Fathers of Doctrine, the Recollets, the Piquepuces, the white Friars, and bare footed Carmelites, &c. This laſt order, which was eſtabliſhed in France at the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, poſſeſſes threeſcore and two religious houſes in that kingdom. And what was this in compariſon of the Jeſuits and Capuchins?

Multiplication of the religious orders in the ſixteenth century.

VI.

Sciences and Literature.

In what ſcience long conſiſted.

IN order to diſpel the darkneſs, which is always favourable to diſorders, it was neceſſary that ſcience ſhould give birth to truth; but what for many ages went under that name was its greateſt obſtacle. Science then conſiſted in a ſtring of reveries, erected into principles by men who, if I may uſe the expreſſion, drew from them their very exiſtence; who were filled with rage at the leaſt appearance of novelty, and anathematiſed reaſon, becauſe they juſtly dreaded its power. Ariſtotle, or rather his ignorant commentators, exerciſed a deſpotick authority over the human underſtanding. Even the

the laws, by an extraordinary piece of folly, rigorouſly prohibited every doctrine contrary to the abſurdities of the ſchools. In a word, it may be ſaid, that thought and common ſenſe often became a crime.

Philoſophy conſiſted only of abſurdities.

If peripateticiſm debaſed theology, what muſt have been the ſtate of philoſophy? And if we have ſeen it, even in our days, ſtuffed with *categories*, *univerſals*, *quiddities*, *negations*, *forms*, *eſſences*; in a word, with ridiculous chimeras, magiſterially taught to youth in ſeveral publick ſchools; in what muſt it have then conſiſted, when mankind had no idea of better ſtudies, nor any liberty to purſue a better method of education?

Beginning of the true philoſophers.

Francis Bacon.

But men of liberal and adventurous genius, capable of breaking the yoke of pedantry, gave wing to reaſon, and opened for her a path to knowledge. Under James I. king of England, Francis Bacon, a more illuſtrious philoſopher in his diſgrace, than he had been a good chancellor in the court, comprehended in ſome ſhort works the ſeeds of the greateſt part of the diſcoveries; demonſtrated the faults in the common methods, and propoſed others of an excellent kind; ſhewed the futility of abſtractions, which the doctors made their ſole ſtudy; eſtabliſhed the baſis of ſcience on the phænomena of nature; and in a manner propheſied the miracles which they would in a ſhort time produce. In a word, he proved, that men knew nothing, which was at that time the moſt important leſſon they could learn.

Some

Some time after appeared Deſcartes, a gen- Deſcartes.
tleman of Touraine, who, reflecting upon the falſe notions with which he had been tinctured by his maſters, and on the ſcientifick ignorance which was revered under the name of philoſophy, attempted to new caſt the whole ſet of his ideas, in ſuch a manner as, if poſſible, not to leave the leaſt trace of his firſt errours. He His method.
began with doubting, of which he demonſtrated the neceſſity: And what is more neceſſary in philoſophy, where the examination of ideas and the force of argument ought alone to fix the judgment? By the help of one or two evident principles he overthrew the whole dark ſyſtem of the ſchools. But his too lively imagination led him aſtray. He wanted to create a new Its errours.
ſyſtem, and explained the mechaniſm of the world by vortices, which indeed ſhew ingenuity, but are diſowned by nature. In a word, he formed a ſect which at leaſt inſpired a taſte for reaſoning clearly; and this was giving a mortal blow to the peripatetick philoſophy. The paſſage from errour to truth is ſo difficult, that it is almoſt impoſſible to travel through it without committing ſome falſe ſtep. Perhaps even the wild notions of this famous philoſopher were of uſe to the progreſs of ſcience. His ſeducing ſyſtem at firſt formed enthuſiaſts, too far ſuperiour to the ſchoolmen not to triumph over their ſophiſms and injurious language. His method has ſince directed the obſervers of nature; and theſe have diſſipated the Carteſian illuſions.

Gaſſendi, an eccleſiaſtick of Provence, more Gaſſendi.
circumſpect than his cotemporary, and conſe-
quently

quently leſs capable of making a noiſe, ſecretly attacked the old prejudices, and attempted to reform the atomick ſyſtem of Epicurus. He oppoſed the abſolute *plenum* of the Carteſians with ſolid arguments. His atoms floating in the void with a reciprocal attraction or repulſion, approach nearer to truth than the vortices. Yet this could only be an hypotheſis more or leſs probable. Experiments were yet wanting; men ſtood in need of facts, that they might arrive at truths; and, happily, genius turned its efforts to that quarter.

Galileo. One of the men to whom the ſciences are principally indebted for their progreſs, and who was moſt ſeverely puniſhed for it by ignorance, was Galileo, the natural ſon of a Florentine nobleman. The ſyſtem of Copernicus, which ſo well explains all the phænomena by the motion of the earth round the ſun, deſerved to have him for a defender; and his obſervations placed that ſyſtem in a light equally convincing with demonſtration. About the end of the ſixteenth century, an accidental diſcovery had been made of the firſt eſſay towards a teleſcope, by adjuſting to the ends of a tube two glaſſes, one concave, the other convex; but Galileo did not hear of it till 1609, and immediately perceived the advantages that might be reaped from ſuch an inſtrument, if brought to perfection. He meditated, he made trials, and ſoon conſtructed a teleſcope, which ſhewed objects three times larger than they were in nature. By ſtill improving his diſcovery, he at laſt procured one that magnified three and thirty times.

His teleſcope and his diſcoveries in Aſtronomy.

In

In a word, he diſcovered the mountains of the moon, the ſatellites of Jupiter, the phaſes of Venus, the ſpots and rotation of the ſun. Thus the analogy between the earth and the other planets was ſo clearly eſtabliſhed, that, unleſs men ſhut their eyes againſt the light, the motion of the globe, which we inhabit, became almoſt indubitable.

The ſciences perſecuted.

But enlightening mankind was expoſing one's ſelf to dreadful misfortunes. Gaſſendi dared not combat Ariſtotle but with endleſs precautions, ſubmitting his works to the judgment of the church; as if Ariſtotle and the faith had any thing in common. Deſcartes having retired into Holland, that he might there enjoy liberty, met with perſecutors in that country; and found himſelf accuſed of atheiſm, after having publiſhed new proofs of the exiſtence of a deity. The perſecutions which Galileo met with in Italy, are too memorable to permit us to paſs them entirely in ſilence.

Galileo perſecuted by the inquiſition.

In 1616, a monk having lodged an information againſt him before the inquiſition, he appeared, and was obliged, by cardinal Bellarmin, to promiſe that he would no more maintain the ſyſtem of Copernicus by word or writing; ſixteen days after which he publiſhed his *Dialogue*, where one of the interlocutors explains that ſyſtem, and ſhews clearly which ſide was in the right. Upon this the enemies of good ſenſe returned to the charge. Galileo was again ſummoned to Rome; and in 1633 the inquiſition paſſed that ſentence, which was certainly worthy of the tenth century—*To ſay that the ſun*

Remarkable ſentence of the inquiſitors.

ſun is in the centre, and has no local motion, is a propoſition abſurd and falſe in ſound philoſophy; it is even heretical, being expreſsly contrary to the holy ſcripture. To ſay that the earth is not placed in the centre of the world, nor immoveable, but that it has even a diurnal motion, is likewiſe a propoſition falſe and abſurd in ſound philoſophy, and at leaſt erroneous in the faith. The philoſopher was ſentenced to impriſonment, and conſtrained ſolemnly to abjure thoſe *abſurdities and hereſies.* He died blind in **1642,** at the age of ſeventy eight.

This decree is a good leſſon.

I make no reflection upon this decree of the inquiſitors, which was ſigned by ſeven cardinals. It will be everlaſting matter of confuſion to preſumptuous men who condemn what they know not, and in a manner dare to make religion an accomplice of their irrational exceſſes. Ought they not at leaſt to have remembered that they were often obliged to take the ſcripture, on which they built their dogmatical ſentence, in a ſenſe widely different from the literal ?

Cardinal Bentivoglio favoured the philoſopher.

Let us obſerve, for the honour of learning, that cardinal Bentivoglio, an eſtimable hiſtorian, who had been a diſciple of the philoſopher, and was firſt commiſſioner of the inquiſition, oppoſed this act of injuſtice to the utmoſt of his power : But what could a ſingle ſage do againſt the madneſs of the times ?

Other diſcoveries of Galileo.

The world is indebted to Galileo for other important diſcoveries. He obſerved that bodies of unequal weight fall with equal velocity ; that the motion of falling bodies is accelerated in the ratio of the odd numbers ; that the unequal vibrations

vibrations of a pendulum, provided they be ſmall, are performed in equal times; whence he concluded, that a pendulum would be a proper meaſure of time. This idea doubtleſs gave riſe to the pendulum clocks invented by the celebrated Huygens in 1656.

Torricelli. Torricelli, a diſciple of Galileo, walked in the ſteps of his maſter. He invented the microſcope, an inſtrument as neceſſary for the knowledge of nature, even as the teleſcope. By the experiment of mercury, incloſed in a glaſs tube, he proved that the weight of the air was the cauſe of the phænomena of the pump, and of all that the ſchools attributed to I know not what *horrour of a vacuum*. This Paſcal ſoon after demonſtrated by new experiments.

The microſcope.

The gravity of the air.

All the ſciences begin to make progreſs. We do not mention the aſtronomical labours of Tycho Brahé and Kepler; nor the new modelling of Algebra by Vieta, in France, during the ſixteenth century, and which was applied with more ſucceſs to Geometry by Deſcartes; nor the circulation of the blood diſcovered by Harvey, in England, &c. &c. When men applied boldly to uſeful ſciences, obſerved and ſtudied nature, bid defiance to old errours, and breathed the ſpirit of truth; when experimental philoſophy and mathematicks accuſtomed them to think juſtly, and to ſhake off ruling prejudices; when ſucceſsful diſcoveries rouſed emulation and confidence, the curioſity of ſome, and the genius of others; it might then be hoped that all the ſciences would make rapid progreſs, and mutually aid each other in ſurmounting the numberleſs obſtacles that ſtood in their way.

This

Pedantry ſtill too common.

This revolution ſtill required much time and pains. Men of letters were, in general, entirely deſtitute of the philoſophick ſpirit. The greateſt part preſerved the pedantick taſte, attached to the ungrateful ſtudies of pure erudition. They waſted their ſtrength on paſſages of Greek or Latin authors, arrogantly deſpiſed what did not bear the ſtamp of antiquity; and the foul language with which their works abound, was in their eſteem a beauty of ſtyle. Saumaiſe and F. Petau, both men of learning, combated with theſe fiſhwomen's weapons.

Services done by men of erudition.

Beſides, we ſhould deſerve the ſame reproach as the men of erudition, did we not do juſtice to their painful lucubrations. They have procured to us information uſeful to philoſophy as well as literature, and have prepared the materials for the palace of taſte and reaſon. How many truths have been recovered from oblivion, by criticiſm applied to religious matters? How many errours hath it not aboliſhed?

Blondel and the French civilians.

The falſe decretals, for example, ſtill preſerved their authority, which, for ten centuries, had been productive of ſo fatal effects. At laſt David Blondel, a proteſtant miniſter, demonſtrated that they were the work of impoſture; and their patrons dared no longer ſupport them againſt demonſtration. Our French civilians have done greater ſervices to the ſtates; becauſe, had it not been for them, the kings and people would, perhaps, have been ſtill unacquainted with the *impreſcriptible* rights; the loſs of which has plunged them into an abyſs of misfortunes.

Under

Under Louis XIV. we ſhall ſee France become the moſt brilliant ſeat of letters and the fine arts. After Taſſo, who died in 1595, Italy produced no more of thoſe maſterpieces, which gain univerſal admiration. The writers of that country rather indulged in ſportive fallies of wit, than ſignalized themſelves by ſuperiour efforts of genius. Spain degenerated ſtill more. Her dramatick poets, and other literati, abandoned nature for bombaſt; and the Don Quixote of the ingenious Cervantes was only a juſt ſatire on the national taſte. "*The only good book they* "*have*," ſays the author of the Perſian Letters, with too great ſeverity, "*is that which ſhews* "*the ridiculouſneſs of all the reſt.*" In England, Shakeſpeare created the drama under the reign of James I. a poet who often degenerates into low buffoonery, but is ſtill admired by the Engliſh, on account of ſome excellent paſſages which hide his faults. The ſame thing may be ſaid of Milton, whoſe *Paradiſe Loſt* did not ſee the light till 1667. One muſt be an Engliſhman to look upon thoſe ſublime geniuſes as models of good taſte.

Bad taſte in Italy and Spain.

Shakeſpeare and Milton.

One thing, for which cardinal Richelieu deſerves the greateſt encomiums, is having, as it were, cleared the ſoil from which were to ſpring ſo many works worthy of immortality. He favoured letters, which he cultivated himſelf; and, though his vanity as an author perhaps expoſed him to ridicule, his example ſerved as a ſpur to genius. French proſe acquired elegance under the pen of Balzac and Voiture, notwithſtanding the turgid ſtyle of the one, and the

Cardinal Richelieu revives the ſpirit of literature.

Balzac and Voiture.

Malherbe. Peter Corneille.

the coquettiſh affectation of the other. Malherbe ſhewed the charms of poetick harmony. Peter Corneille, after ſome indifferent works, produced the Cid; to which no other nation had any thing comparable. Richelieu being jealous of this poet, ordered the French academy, which was eſtabliſhed in 1635, to criticiſe that celebrated piece; and their criticiſm, as well as the work itſelf, was a proof of the progreſs the nation had made in literature, which was rendered much more ſtriking by the tragedy of the Horatii, and above all by Cinna, that were written after the Cid.

The language almoſt fixed.

The language had very near been fixed in the reign of Louis XIII. as the Provincial Letters appeared in 1654, eleven years after his death; a book which we would believe to have been written in the moſt brilliant period of Louis XIV. It is evident, then, that the barbariſm which prevailed ſo long in France, proceeded only from the wrong method of ſtudy. The national genius only wanted ſome good models and encouragement.

Prejudices ſtill ſubſiſting.

It is juſt matter of ſurpriſe, that at the time when Deſcartes was blaſting peripateticiſm, and Corneille elevating the ſoul to the ſentiments of the Roman heroes, the great, the body of the people, the clergy, and the magiſtrates, were ſtill the ſlaves of many abſurd prejudices. Aſtrology maintained its credit; trials for witchcraft were common, and attended with horrid conſequences. Urban Grandier, who unhappily had offended the miniſter, was burnt alive in 1634, on a charge of having bewitched ſeveral nuns:

However,

However, the Sorbonne determined that their depoſitions were not admiſſible. But they gave the following extraordinary reaſon for their opinion; that even ſuppoſing them to be poſſeſſed, yet, according to St. John, the devil is a liar; and he might, on other occaſions, accuſe the moſt virtuous perſons. Trial of Urban Grandier.

It is a queſtion difficult to be decided, whether it would not have been more beneficial to the nation, that the light of the ſciences had preceded the maſterpieces of the *belles lettres*. In general, it may be obſerved, that, for a nation to be enlightened, it is neceſſary that it firſt be poliſhed: The pleaſures of ſentiment muſt firſt diſpoſe it to reliſh thoſe of profound reaſon; agreeable ſtudies exerciſe the mind to a habit of thinking, and the beauty that affects the feeling, leads to truth, which is leſs ſtriking. From thoſe flowers of genius, with which France was covered, were to ſpring the fruits of wiſdom and truth of every ſort. The belles lettres ought to precede the ſciences.

The Luxemburg, the Palais Royal, the Val de Grace, and the Sorbonne, are ſtately pieces of architecture, which were conſtructed during the reign of Louis XIII. Vouet was the father of the French ſchool of painting, while the Flemiſh was immortalized by Rubens and Vandyke. The dawn of the fine arts ſhone forth in France, and proclaimed the approaching wonders of the reign of which we are now to take a view. The fine arts.

FOURTEENTH

FOURTEENTH EPOCHA.

LOUIS XIV. *This Epocha, which is the moſt intereſting in Hiſtory, comprehends an immenſe Number of Objects that require a particular Narration, and deſerve many Reflections. The State of all Nations is on the Point of acquiring a ſettled Form; Learning and the Arts, circulating from one Country to another, are on the Eve of producing new Ideas with new Manners; and great Revolutions about to produce a Change in the political Syſtems. Here Curioſity is principally rouſed, and, unleſs its Attention be fixed on the eſſential Points, would be in a Manner overwhelmed with a fruitleſs Abundance. To avoid Confuſion, in treating a Subject of ſuch Extent, I have divided it into ſeveral Parts, where the Facts can be methodically ranged.*

BOOK I.

[From the Acceſſion of Louis XIV. in 1643, to the War of 1667.]

CHAP. I.

Continuation of the War againſt the Houſe of AUSTRIA.—*Treaty of* WESTPHALIA *in* 1648.

WHEN Louis XIV. aſcended the throne, at the age of four years and a half, Europe was in a turbulent ſtate, which threat- 1643. Europe ſhaken with troubles and civil wars.

ened France with a tempeſtuous minority. The war kindled by cardinal Richelieu againſt the houſe of Auſtria, either with a deſign to bring down its power, or to make himſelf neceſſary, continued its ravages, notwithſtanding the preliminaries ſigned in 1641. The emperour Ferdinand III. leſs formidable than his father Ferdinand II. ſtruggled againſt the forces of France and Sweden, without being able to diſpoſe of thoſe of the empire. Philip IV. king of Spain, had loſt Rouſſillon, Catalonia, and Portugal; but, exhauſted as his vaſt monarchy was, he ſtill defended himſelf againſt the Portugueſe, the Dutch, and the French, who were united by their common intereſt. If England, ſhaken with dreadful convulſions, no longer intermeddled in the affairs of the continent, the fury ſhewed by the republicans, in the war with which they perſecuted an eſtimable king, neceſſarily changed, in a ſhort time, into an activity which increaſed the national power. And to cloſe the liſt, France, unhappy as well as the other ſtates, was expoſed to inteſtine diſcords, at the ſame time that it was obliged to ſupport a fierce, obſtinate, and ruinous war.

Anne of Auſtria regent in France.

Louis XIII. had, by his will, appointed a council of regency for the queen, Anne of Auſtria; but that princeſs wanted the power of adminiſtration unlimited; for which purpoſe ſhe addreſſed herſelf to the parliament; and that body pronouncing ſentence as if it had been a civil matter, annulled the laſt will of a king, under whom it had enjoyed little credit

or

or influence. Cardinal Mazarin, an Italian of an inſinuating and artful character, who had for ſome time been ſettled in the kingdom, ſoon roſe to the poſt of prime miniſter, and ſeemed to inherit the power of his benefactor Richelieu. The fortunes of ſome courtiers were deſtroyed as uſual, and others raiſed upon their ruins: Events, which for ſome days are the univerſal ſubject of diſcourſe, and afterwards buried in everlaſting oblivion. But no alteration was made in the plan of the old miniſtry.

Cardinal Mazarin prime miniſter.

They who are fond of the details of wars will look for them in other works; hiſtories are full of them, and are not, on that account, of greater utility. Were we to adopt ſuch a plan, we ſhould fill whole pages with proper names, even though, like Mr. Henault, we compoſed only a bare nomenclature of the facts of each campaign. And who could read them without diſguſt? Who could retain them? Perhaps it would be ſufficient to obſerve, with regard to all theſe wars, that none of them procured the victor ſufficiently great advantages to compenſate the evils of which it had been the cauſe.

The details of war would be endleſs and ſuperfluous.

After the death of cardinal Richelieu, his rival, the count duke d'Olivarez, who had been abſolute maſter in Spain, was diſgraced. Don Louis de Haro, leſs deſpotick, leſs enterpriſing than Olivarez, was become prime miniſter, and France had gained by the change. Imagining that the minority of Louis XIV. opened to them a field for victory, their army marched from the Low Countries into Champagne,

Miniſtry of Spain.

The Spaniards invade France.

pagne, beſieged Rocroi, and ſpread the alarm on every ſide.

The great Condé victorious at Rocroi.

Happily the French troops were commanded by a young hero, ſcarce twenty one years of age, Louis duke d'Enguien, ſon of the prince of Condé. Genius ſupplied his want of experience; and though he had orders not to riſk a battle, yet he fought and gained that of Rocroi, where the famous body of Spaniſh infantry was deſtroyed. This infantry, formed on the model of the Swiſs, made the principal ſtrength of Spain. Their commander, the count de Fuentes, fell gloriouſly, and the prince exclaimed—*I could wiſh to have died like him, had I not been victorious.* The victory at Rocroi paved the way for a ſeries of triumphs.

He takes Thionville, and paſſes into Germany.

The great Condé (for the duke d'Enguien already deſerves that glorious name) ſoon made himſelf maſter of Thionville, which in the laſt reign it was thought imprudent to attack. His preſence becoming neceſſary on the other ſide of the Rhine, as the mareſchal de Guebriant had been ſlain at the taking of Rothweil, and the diviſions occaſioned by his death had brought on the loſs of the battle of Dutlingen, followed by other ill ſucceſſes in Suabia; Merci, the emperour's general, having even made himſelf maſter of Friburg; Condé arrived, attacked him in an intrenched camp near that city, and, though inferiour in number, defeated the imperialiſts, after a battle which laſted three days. Philipſburg and Mentz were the fruits of this victory. Gaſton, duke of Orleans, had a little before made himſelf maſter of Gravelines, which held

1644. Battle of Friburg.

Other expeditions.

held out two months. But the French were leſs ſucceſsful in Catalonia, where Philip IV. defeated the mareſchal de la Mothe, and took the towns of Lerida and Balaguier.

While Condé was enjoying his glory in France, the mareſchal Turenne commanded the army in Germany, and advanced into the heart of the country, to take advantage of a great victory gained by the Swediſh general, Torſtenſon, in Bohemia: But he committed an errour, (the only one, it is ſaid, of which he was ever guilty) and conſented that the allies ſhould ſeparate from his army; when Merci, taking advantage of the opportunity, defeated him at Mariendahl, in Franconia, (1645). On this news Condé ſet out, joined Turenne, attacked Merci near Nordlingen, and gained a third victory as glorious as the preceding. The illuſtrious Merci fell like Fuentes.

Turenne beaten at Mariendahl.

1645. Battle of Nordlingen.

The prince then marched to take Dunkirk from the Spaniards, (1646) but was ſent into Catalonia, where he miſcarried at the ſiege of Lerida, for want of the neceſſary ſuccours. This check was a triumph to thoſe who looked upon him with envy; for the paſſions of courtiers ſport with the publick proſperity or ruin. But the following year, (1648) he renewed their vexation, by the battle of Lens in Artois, which he gained over the emperour's brother, the archduke Leopold. The ſpeech he made to his ſoldiers before the battle, is preferable to all thoſe with which the ancients have overloaded their hiſtories—*My friends, remember Rocroi, Friburg, and Nordlingen.*

Taking of Dunkirk.

Battle of Lens, in 1648.

War in Italy, occaſioned by the Barberinos.

A war was likewiſe carried on in Italy againſt Spain. The Barberinos, nephews of Urban VIII. who had quarrelled with his ſucceſſor Innocent X. having found an aſylum in France, and Mazarin being diſcontented with the pope for refuſing to beſtow a hat on his brother; this private pique had an influence on the general operations. The war was carried to the coaſts of Tuſcany, for the ſake of being near Rome; and though the ſiege of Orbitello was raiſed, yet, Piombino and Porto Longoné being taken, Innocent accepted the terms impoſed upon him. Thus do petty intereſts almoſt always mingle with the more ſpecious motives for ſhedding of human blood.

Philip IV. unable to ſupport the war.

Philip IV. who was naturally a good prince, but weak, and governed by favourites, found himſelf unable to ſupport the weight of the war, and could obtain no aſſiſtance from his people. In 1645, the ſtates of Arragon refuſed to take the oath of allegiance to his ſon; requiring, as a preliminary, the reſtoration of their privilege not to bear arms out of their own country; a refuſal and claim which could proceed only from the moſt violent diſcontent. Philip being deſirous at leaſt to leſſen the number of his enemies, made a treaty of peace with the United Provinces, by which he acknowledged their independence, and abandoned to them all their conqueſts.

He makes peace with Holland,

which abandons France from motives of policy.

This republick had engaged not to treat without France, to which it lay under the greateſt obligations. But in politicks, intereſt or actual convenience prevails over paſt ſervices; and as

ſelf

ſelf preſervation is the firſt law in all ſtates, they think themſelves free from their engagements, when they are no longer conſiſtent with the publick weal. Holland began to dread France more than Spain: She obtained from the latter all that ſhe could deſire, and was unwilling to contribute to the too great power of the other. If ſhe appeared guilty of ingratitude, ſhe could at leaſt colour it with ſpecious reaſons. By this treaty, which, though concluded in 1647, was not ſigned till January 1648, an end was put to a war of fourſcore years, in which the heroiſm of liberty had glorioufly revived the wonders of ancient Greece.

Never had the Spaniſh monarchy been reduced to ſuch a ſtate of weakneſs and humiliation; and, as an addition to its misfortunes, the kingdom of Naples was on the point of being loſt. That people, who are naturally prone to ſedition, were hurried into rebellion by the oppreſſive taxes and vexations of the viceroys and their ſubalterns. At Palermo, the revolters were headed by a brazier, and all Sicily, except Meſſina, was ſeized with the ſame epidemick fury which animated the populace of that city. The ſame part was played at Naples by a fiſherman, named Mazaniello. Under his orders, the financiers, with part of the nobility, were maſſacred, the houſes pillaged, and numberleſs acts of violence committed. Mazaniello was, in his turn, murdered by the mutineers, who, in like manner, butchered a nobleman whom they had put in his room. A third leader propoſed to eſtabliſh a republick under the protec-

Inſurrections at Naples, and in Sicily.

tion

1647. The duke of Guiſe proclaimed doge.

tion of France; and this ſcheme being adopted, they called in the duke of Guiſe, whoſe family had ſome pretenſions on Naples: Upon which that nobleman quitted Rome, where he was endeavouring to procure a diſſolution of his marriage, expoſed himſelf to the greateſt dangers, paſſed through the Spaniſh fleet, arrived almoſt alone, and the people eagerly conferred upon him the title of doge (1647).

Ill ſucceſs of his enterpriſe.

Mazarin judiciouſly favoured this enterpriſe; yet he ſent no ſuccours to the duke, perhaps from a ſuſpicion that he aſpired to the title of king; and every thing in a ſhort time returned to its former ſtate, both at Naples and in Sicily. Guiſe was betrayed by the man who had invited him, and ſent to Spain, where he remained four years in a ſevere impriſonment.

The Neapolitans incapable of freecom.

Dreadful executions were made of the Neapolitans; fourteen thouſand of whom are reckoned to have been maſſacred—"*No people* (ſays "Giannoné, in his hiſtory of that kingdom) "*is more greedy, and leſs capable of liberty,* "*than the Neapolitans: Giddy in their con-* "*duct, inconſtant in their affections, unſteady* "*in their opinions, they hate the preſent, and* "*are too much depreſſed or elevated with the* "*fears or hopes of futurity, according to the* "*dictates of impetuous paſſions.*" Such a people muſt ſuddenly paſs from rebellion to a kind of ſervitude.

Negotiations at Weſtphalia.

Thus did the flames of war rage through the whole of Europe; and yet negotiations for a general peace had been carried on in Weſtphalia ever ſince the year 1644. Theſe negotiations, which

which were endleſsly complicated and difficult, are explained in the curious work of F. Bougeant. A thouſand rights or claims to be conciliated, a thouſand intereſts to be provided for, hoſtile religions to be diſarmed, the chaos of the Germanick government to be diſembroiled, the deſpotiſm of the emperour to be reſtrained, all the powers to be ſatisfied, or at leaſt reunited in a ſingle ſyſtem of pacification, was the greateſt work, of this kind, ever undertaken. The glory was ſhared between the counts d'Avaux and Servien, plenipotentiaries of France, and the ſon of the chancellor Oxenſtiern, and Salvius, plenipotentiaries of Sweden. The firſt treated at Munſter with the catholicks, the ſecond at Oſnaburg with the proteſtants; but nothing was to be determined except by concert.

Intereſted motives which retarded its concluſion.

Had either of the two powers concluded a ſeparate treaty, it would have been of conſiderable advantage to the enemy. Accordingly, they employed all their addreſs for that purpoſe. The Swedes were often ſhaken, either by very advantageous offers, or becauſe their victories gave the law. However, they perceived, that the ſureſt method was not to ſeparate from France. The two crowns demanded ſatisfaction to be made at the ſame time, and required it to be conſiderable, at the expenſe of the empire. The emperour diſputed every inch of ground: The war continued; and its events, as they were fortunate or unhappy, cauſed perpetual variations in the plan of the negotiators, while the fraudulent policy introduced into Europe in the fifteenth century, ardently diſplayed its

its utmoſt ſubtlety. Muſt the intereſts of humanity have ſo little weight in publick affairs?

1648. Campaign fatal to the imperialiſts.

At laſt, the campaign of 1648 compelled Ferdinand III. to bend. The duke of Bavaria, having broken the neutrality, which he had lately promiſed, Wrangel, a famous Swediſh general, joined Turenne, to fall upon his electorate. Theſe two generals defeated the imperialiſts, took Donawert, and laid waſte Bavaria; while Koningſmarck, another Swede, no leſs celebrated, invaded Bohemia, penetrated as far as Prague, took the little city, and gave it up to be plundered: The booty was immenſe, the queen of Sweden's ſhare alone being eſtimated at near ſeven millions of crowns. The old town was beſieged, when news arrived of the peace. The extremity to which the emperour was reduced, with the paſſion of queen Chriſtina for ſtudy and the fine arts, had haſtened its concluſion; and Mazarin, being threatened with a civil war, was become more tractable.

Treaty of Weſtphalia.

The treaty of Weſtphalia was ſolemnly ſigned at Munſter, the 24th of October 1648. As it is the baſis of all ſucceeding treaties, and a fundamental law of the empire, it is neceſſary to be acquainted with its principal articles. The ſummary given of them by M. Pfeffel, in his Chronological Abridgment of the Hiſtory of Germany, appears to me ſo well drawn up, and ſo inſtructive, that I think I ought to uſe it, with a very few alterations.

SATISFACTIONS

Satisfactions granted to the Powers.

FRANCE had the ſovereignty of the three biſhopricks, Metz, Toul, and Verdun; the city of Pignerol, Briſack, with its dependencies; the Sundgau, the landgraviates of Upper and Lower Alſace, and the right of keeping a garriſon in Friburg.—Sweden, beſides five millions of crowns, had the archbiſhoprick of Bremen, and the biſhoprick of Verden, which were ſeculariſed; Hither Pomerania, Stettin, the Iſle of Rugen, and Wiſmar in Mecklenburg; the whole to be held as a fief of the empire, with three voices in the diet.—The elector of Brandenburg was recompenſed for the loſs of Hither Pomerania, by the ceſſion of the biſhoprick of Magdeburg, which was ſeculariſed; and thoſe of Halberſtadt, Minden, and Camin, which were declared ſecular principalities, with four votes in the diet.—The dukes of Mecklenburg had, in exchange for Wiſmar, the biſhopricks of Schwerin and Ratzburg, in like manner, erected into ſecular principalities.—The dukes of Brunſwick Lunenburg Hanover had the perpetual alternative in the biſhoprick of Oſnaburg, ſo that a catholick biſhop, elected by the chapter, was to be ſucceeded by a proteſtant biſhop of that houſe.—The landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel had ſix hundred thouſand crowns, and ſome lands.—The Elector Palatine was again put in poſſeſſion of the Lower Palatinate, &c. and an eighth electorate eſtabliſhed

Satisfactions to France,

Sweden,

Brandenburg,

the dukes of Mecklenburg,

the dukes of Hanover,

the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel,

Palatine, an eighth electorate,

eſtabliſhed in his favour, which was to be ſuppreſſed if either of the two branches of his houſe, that of Bavaria or the palatine, became extinct.—The republick of Switzerland was declared ſovereign, and exempt from the juriſdiction of the empire.—All the other princes and ſtates of the empire were reſtored to their lands, rights, and prerogatives, which they enjoyed before the troubles of Bohemia, and the year 1619.

the Swiſs,

ſtates of the empire.

SETTLEMENT OF THE STATE OF RELIGION.

Regulations with regard to religion in the empire.

THE tranſaction at Paſſau in 1552, and the peace of religion in 1555, were confirmed in their whole extent.—The Calviniſts were to ſhare in all the privileges of the Lutherans.—All the eccleſiaſtical lands poſſeſſed by the proteſtants in 1624, and by the elector palatine in 1619, to remain in their poſſeſſion.—Every beneficiary, catholick or proteſtant, ſhall loſe his benefice if he change his religion.—Every immediate member of the empire ſhall have the right of changing and reforming religion in his own dominions, as far as the ſtatute of 1624, and the compacts made with his ſubjects, ſhall permit him.—The ſubjects that abandon the religion eſtabliſhed in their country in 1624, may be tolerated by the prince; but if he will not grant them liberty of conſcience, he ſhall be obliged to allow them three years to quit his dominions.—The imperial chamber ſhall be compoſed of twenty four proteſtant members,

and

and twenty ſix catholicks. The emperour ſhall receive ſix proteſtants into the Aulick council.—An equal number of catholick and proteſtant ſtates ſhall be choſen for the diets of deputation, except when they are ſummoned for an extraordinary cauſe: In this laſt caſe all the deputies ſhall be proteſtants, if the cauſe regards proteſtants, and in the ſame manner for the catholicks.—At the diet, and in all the tribunals of the empire, nothing can be concluded by a plurality of catholick voices againſt the unanimous conſent of the proteſtants.—If in the diets the ſuffrage of the *evangelick body* is found to be contrary to that of the catholicks, nothing can be determined but by way of amicable compoſition. If the ſame caſe happen in the two tribunals of the empire, the cauſes ſhall then be brought to a general diet. (Theſe were ſo many precautions againſt the religion of the emperour oppreſſing the other.)

REGULATIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE PUBLICK GOVERNMENT.

Publick government of the empire.

THE princes and ſtates of Germany aſſembled in diet ſhall have a deciſive vote in all the deliberations of the empire, eſpecially with regard to the making of new laws, or interpreting the old, declaring war, levying troops, exacting contributions, raiſing ſubſidies in the empire, building fortreſſes, making peace and alliances; and their approbation ſhall be eſſentially requiſite. The college of the imperial cities

cities ſhall in like manner have a deciſive voice. —In all deliberations upon matters which may turn to the prejudice of a ſtate of the empire, nothing ſhall be decided but by way of amicable accommodation.—The Aulick council ſhall follow the ordonnance and the procedures uſual in the imperial court.—Every particular ſtate was confirmed in the privilege of making alliances with foreign powers, provided they were not againſt the emperour and the empire.

Rome and Spain oppoſed the treaty.

Such is the ſubſtance of a treaty ſo eſſential to the tranquillity of Europe, particularly to that of Germany. All the articles were guaranteed by France and Sweden. Innocent X. cancelled them by a bull; but a bull was too feeble an inſtrument for that purpoſe. Philip IV. refuſed to make peace, becauſe he ſaw the civil war kindling in France, which he hoped to turn to his advantage.

France and Sweden have eſtabliſhed the Germanick privileges.

Thus was order at laſt eſtabliſhed in the Germanick conſtitution, after thirty years of troubles and maſſacres. The French and Swedes may be conſidered as the legiſlators of the empire, where their arms had made ſo many ravages. Had it not been for them, the head could not have agreed with the members, nor the members with one another; without them the difference of religions would have been an eternal ſource of diſcords. To ſatisfy the proteſtants at the expenſe of the church, was the great art of the negotiators. The catholick princes loſing none of their domains, and gaining the advantages of liberty and peace, conſented with the leſs difficulty to this treaty, of

What contributed moſt to ſucceſs.

which

which Rome had reaſon to make bitter complaints, as they were unable to continue the war. Ferdinand III. had every thing to fear for his hereditary dominions, and neceſſity extorted from him a compliance. The deſpotiſm of Ferdinand II. muſt neceſſarily, ſooner or later, bring on the liberty of Germany, as in every country violent diſorders, ſooner or later, pave the way for the reſtoration of order.

The Germanick liberty little known by the people.

However, this Germanick liberty is for the moſt part a bleſſing enjoyed by the princes, not by the people. The ancient ſervitude ſubſiſts in ſeveral ſtates of the empire: The ſovereigns, though extremely jealous of maintaining their privileges againſt the emperours, pay little regard to the rights of humanity in the treatment of their ſubjects. The ſtates are free, but the people are ſlaves and oppreſſed. There, as in other countries, the laws are frequently on the ſide of the ſtrong againſt the weak.

CHAP. II.

CIVIL WAR *in* FRANCE *againſt* MAZARIN.—SEQUEL *of the* WAR *with* SPAIN.

Hatred againſt cardinal Mazarin.

THE negotiations of Weſtphalia were drawing near a concluſion, and made the French miniſtry reſpectable in the eyes of Europe, when a civil war was kindled in Paris againſt the king, or rather againſt his miniſter. It was impoſſible that a foreigner, who was maſter

maſter of the government, could avoid becoming an object of envy, hatred, and cabals. Though cardinal Mazarin had too much addreſs in the beginning of his miniſtry to copy the pomp and haughtineſs of Richelieu, his fortune, his power, and the neceſſities of the publick, furniſhed ſufficient matter to the malecontents. The royal authority was little reſpected in his hands; and whether he abuſed it, or only ſeemed to abuſe it, the ſpirit of rebellion became univerſal.

Bad ſtate of the revenue.

From the time that the wars, endleſsly prolonged and multiplied, ſwallowed up immenſe ſums; from the time that they were carried on with money ſtill more than by arms; it is inconceivable that the finances ſhould have been always neglected: As if Henry IV. and Sully had lived in another world! Far from following their ſyſtem of economy, the government ruined itſelf while it ruined the people. Seventy five millions, to which the revenues nearly amounted, were not ſufficient for the publick neceſſities, though the ſtate was much leſs in debt than it is at preſent; and yet the armies were not numerous. Emeri, an obſcure Italian, rapacious and prodigal, ſuperintendant of the finances, had recourſe to money edicts, which were the more odious as ſome of them were ridiculous. The money due to the magiſtrates was not paid, ſome quarters of the annuities were retrenched, murmurs broke out, the parliament made oppoſition, and the ſedition was ready to be kindled. An *arrêt* of union between the ſovereign courts of Paris, which had been

Emeri ſuperintendant. Money edicts.

Arrêt of union annulled, and the cardinal turned into ridicule.

been juſt paſſed by the parliament, gave the miniſter uneaſineſs, and was annulled by the council. The magiſtrates maintaining that their union contained nothing reprehenſible—"*The king muſt be obeyed,*" ſaid Mazarin; "*if he forbid wearing taſſels to band ſtrings,* "*it is leſs the nature of the thing prohibited,* "*than the prohibition, which conſtitutes the* "*crime.*" We would imagine that he was preaching up blind obedience to a ſet of monks. His abſurd diſcourſe and faulty pronunciation expoſed him to the keen ſhafts of ridicule. He was lampooned in ballads, and the factious joining contempt to hatred, increaſed in audacity.

1648. Occaſion of the barricadoes.

The parliament forgetting the bounds of its juriſdiction, aboliſhed the intendants of the provinces, who were inſtituted by Louis XIII. and the court being filled with indignation, reſolved to ſtrike a bold ſtroke. During the celebration of *Te Deum* for the victory at Lens, a preſident and a counſellor, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the debates, were arreſted by order of the cardinal; upon which the people roſe, threw chains acroſs the ſtreets, fired upon the chancellor's coach, formed barricadoes, killed ſome ſoldiers, and the two priſoners were reſtored.

The coadjutor heads the revolters.

After the miniſtry gave this proof of their weakneſs, violent commotions were to be expected. The coadjutor to the archbiſhop of Paris, afterwards cardinal de Retz, a man of a reſtleſs, intriguing, ſeditious, and libertine character, encouraged the enemies of the court,

The fronde.

inflamed the people, drew on the parliament, and soon kindled a civil war. The *frondeurs* (that is the name given to the rebels) forced the queen regent to retire to St. Germain with the young king. They were headed by the prince of Conti, brother of the great Condé, the dukes of Longueville, Beaufort Vendôme, Bouillon, &c. Condé, though discontented, sided with the court, and blocked up the capital, where the parliament raised an army.

Ridicule and gallantry in the civil war.

The most remarkable thing in this war is the ridicule with which it was accompanied. Every thing became a subject for jests and ballads. The women set the fashion, and played a capital part. They ordered the men to fight for or against the king. The dutchess de Longueville, sister of Condé, made a rebel of the virtuous Turenne. The duke de la Rochefoucault, celebrated for his Moral Maxims, stained his own reputation by these verses, in honour of the same princess:

Pour meriter son cœur, pour plaire à ses beaux yeux,
J'ai fait la guerre aux rois, je l'aurois faite aux Dieux. *

From the time of Francis I. that spirit of frivolous gallantry had constantly influenced publick affairs; and what evils must it not have produced, in proportion as the manners were enervated by effeminacy, and corrupted by avarice and prodigality!

In

* These verses, the badness of which corresponds with their impiety, may be thus translated:

To merit her heart, and to please her bright eyes,
He revolts from his king, and his God he defies.

In 1649, a ſeeming accommodation took place; a general amneſty was publiſhed, and the court returned to Paris. But the following year the prince of Condé, who deſpiſed the cardinal, and whoſe pretenſions knew no bounds, was arreſted, together with the prince of Conti and the duke de Longueville. Mazarin could not have ſtruck a bolder ſtroke. On this occaſion the people gave a remarkable proof of their natural levity, by celebrating with bonfires the impriſonment of thoſe men whom they had honoured as their fathers and defenders. This triumph of the miniſter was of ſhort duration, becauſe his prudence forſook him. Thinking himſelf now ſecure from danger, he affronted Gaſton, duke of Orleans, a man always ready to change ſides; and provoked the *frondeurs*, who ſtill breathed ſedition: Upon which the parliament demanded the releaſe of the three princes, and paſſed ſentence of perpetual baniſhment againſt the cardinal, who went in perſon to diſcharge the illuſtrious priſoners, in hopes of attaching them to his intereſts, but received from them only marks of contempt. He then retired to Liege, and afterwards to Cologne, from whence he governed the queen regent as abſolutely as if he had not quitted the court. At laſt Condé revolted, but Turenne was become a royaliſt. Thus the heroes of their country attacked and defended it alternately, as they were hurried away by a kind of infatuation, or brought back by motives of intereſt, or a ſenſe of duty.

1650. Princes arreſted.

1651. Mazarin baniſhed by the parliament.

He returns, and a price is ſet upon his head.

Mazarin, like Concini, returned into the kingdom with a ſmall army, when the parliament fulminated againſt him an arrêt of proſcription, and promiſed fifty thouſand crowns for his head, taking a precedent from the ſum fixed upon the head of admiral Coligni in an age of fanaticiſm. The madneſs was carried to ſuch a pitch, that they deputed ſome of their body to take an information againſt the miniſter's army. By another arrêt, the prince of Condé was declared a ſtate criminal; for contradictions ſpring up in multitudes, from the ſpirit of party and cabal. Louis XIV. being now of age, ordered the parliament to remove to Pontoiſe, and a few of the members obeyed, but the greater part remained. Thus there were two parliaments.

Arrêt againſt the greatCondé.

1652. Condé and Turenne oppoſed to each other.

The king, his mother, and his miniſter, wandered about the provinces, and had very near been ſeized at Gien on the Loire by the prince of Condé, who ſurpriſed the mareſchal d'Hoquincourt, but they were ſaved by the abilities of Turenne; and the court, under the protection of its defender, took the road to Paris, where the battle of St. Anthony was fought in the ſuburb of that name. The two generals did wonders on that occaſion, and victory declared for the royal army; when mademoiſelle, daughter of the duke of Orleans, cauſed the cannon of the baſtile to be fired, which forced Turenne to retreat.

End of the fronde.

As the hatred againſt the miniſter ſeemed implacable, the king conſented to his removal,

and

and dismissed him, after making his encomium in a declaration. The Parisians joyfully opened their gates to the sovereign, and the face of affairs was entirely changed. The duke of Orleans went to end his days in banishment. The cardinal de Retz, who had been the chief author of the disturbances, was imprisoned. Condé, being unsuccessful in his rebellion, had joined the Spaniards; but that circumstance did not in the least affect the tranquillity of Paris. To the storms of the *fronde* succeeded so still a calm, that, in the beginning of the year 1653, Mazarin again appeared peaceably at court, resumed all his authority, and saw himself courted by every body, even by the parliament: A conclusion worthy of an absurd war, the history of which, as was observed by Condé, after he had played his part in it, deserved only to be written in burlesque verse. The faction of that prince had been called the party of the *petits maitres*, because they wanted to make themselves masters of the state. M. Voltaire observes, that the name of *petits maitres*, now applied to overbearing and ill educated young men, and that of *frondeurs*, bestowed on the censurers of government, are the only vestiges remaining of those troubles. It is not to be doubted that the Italian minister laughed in his heart at the French giddiness, and certainly saw with pleasure a levity so favourable to his views.

Mazarin triumphant.

The *petits maitres*.

Weak as the Spaniards were, they had found means to turn the dissensions of France to their advantage. In 1652 they retook Barcelona, after a siege of fifteen months, wrested Casal from

Advantages gained by the Spaniards during the civil wars.

from the duke of Savoy, gained over the duke of Mantua by reinſtating him in the poſſeſſion of that town, and ſtormed Gravelines and Dunkirk. The fruit of Condé's former victories was entirely loſt; and he himſelf being in arms againſt his country, would have expoſed it to the greateſt dangers, had not Turenne fought in its defence. Theſe two rivals drew upon themſelves the eyes of all Europe. Turenne had been beaten at Rhetel, in 1650, by the mareſchal du Pleſſis Praſlin, when he fought for the Spaniards; but, in the cauſe of his king and of his country, he always appeared invincible.

1654. Arras ſaved by Turenne.

He marched to the relief of Arras, which was beſieged by the archduke Leopold and the prince of Condé, forced their lines, put the archduke to flight, and left Condé only the glory of making an admirable retreat. Mazarin, who was at ſome leagues diſtance, expoſed himſelf to the greateſt ridicule, by claiming the honour of that campaign.

Treaty of France with Cromwell.

Cromwell, ſtained with the blood of Charles I. made England flouriſh, as we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to relate. France and Spain both courted his alliance, and thus betrayed the majeſty of kings to ſerve their own intereſts. The cardinal, by dint of complaiſance, it may even be ſaid meanneſs, ſucceeded in this negotiation, and concluded a treaty in 1655, on condition of cauſing Charles II. and the duke of York, the grandſons of Henry IV. to quit the kingdom. No notice was taken of the outcries of the Spaniards, who ought to have been

ſilent,

ſilent, as they had condeſcended to act a ſimilar part; and the French miniſtry reaped the fruits of this advantageous alliance.

Sequel of the war.

Valenciennes, beſieged by the mareſchals Turenne and la Ferté, was relieved, in 1656, by the prince of Condé, in conjunction with don John of Auſtria, natural ſon of Philip IV. A dyke, which ſerved as a communication between the quarters of the two mareſchals, being broken, the enemy forced la Ferté's lines; but Turenne ſaved the army, and took Capelle ſome time after. In 1657 he laid ſiege to Cambray, which he was forced to raiſe, Condé having thrown himſelf into the place with eighteen ſquadrons.

1658. Battle of Dunes gained by Turenne; taking of Dunkirk.

The following campaign was deciſive in favour of the French arms. The port of Dunkirk was blocked up by twenty ſail of Engliſh men of war, while Turenne, who had a body of ſix thouſand Engliſh troops in his army, inveſted that city. Don John and Condé marching to its relief, the mareſchal attacked them near Dunes, and gained a complete victory, which the prince of Condé had predicted, when he ſaw the bad diſpoſitions that were made againſt his will. It is not to be doubted, but on that occaſion his haughty ſoul was more than ever ſtung with the ſtate of dependence to which he had been ſubjected by his deplorable imprudence. Dunkirk capitulated; and the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of it, as had been agreed upon with Cromwell. Furnes, Dixmude, Oudenarde, Menin, Ipres, and Gravelines, ſucceſſively fell into the hands of the French; and

Spain,

Spain, cruſhed by the weight of the war, turned her thoughts on peace.

Two intereſting objects preſent themſelves before the negotiations of the Pyrenees: Cromwell's government in England, and the abdication of the famous Chriſtina, queen of Sweden. By placing them here, we ſhall follow the order of events, and avoid digreſſions, which, in the ſequel, would have led us from our purpoſe.

CHAP. III.

COMMONWEALTH *of* ENGLAND *under* CROMWELL.

Difference of the civil war in France and England.

AT the time that the fronde was carrying on its ridiculous cabals, Charles I. was condemned by his ſubjects, and beheaded in 1649. (I thought it proper to give a continued account of his misfortunes in the preceding epocha.) The Engliſh carried on the civil war with fury; the French with contemptible levity. The reaſon is, that, beſides their different national characters, the object and circumſtances of the war were, in every reſpect, entirely unlike. In England, the deſign was either utterly to deſtroy the regal power, or to confine its prerogative within very narrow limits: In France, the only thing wanted, was to get rid of a foreign miniſter, who was an object of deteſtation. In the one country the malecontents were tranſported with atrocious fanaticiſm; in the other, the coadjutor himſelf did not employ the leaſt

pretext

pretext of religion. In the firſt, a genius equally vaſt, profound, and reſolute, contrived and executed their enterpriſes: In the ſecond, there was no leader that had a fixed plan, or was capable of purſuing one with conſtancy and vigour. To bring about the revolution in England, an Oliver Cromwell was neceſſary; and he ſtood in need of fanaticks animated with his own ſpirit.

Character of Cromwell.

This extraordinary man was born of a good family, but poor, illiterate, and unpoliſhed. After a youth of debauchery he turned rigoriſt and enthuſiaſt, and, though full of abſurd and ſuperſtitious notions, poſſeſſed all the talents of a politician and general; particularly that of reading the characters of other men, inſpiring them with his own paſſions, and making them ſubſervient to his deſigns. Cromwell had been unknown till the age of forty four, when the town of Cambridge choſe him for their repreſentative in parliament. Being incapable of moderation, and a violent opponent of the royal cauſe, having nothing in his mouth but the devout extravagances of fanaticiſm, he ſoon procured himſelf a name in the ſect of the puritans. His exploits, by degrees, raiſed him to the command of the army; and he managed men's minds with ſuch dexterity, made ſuch a judicious uſe of every opportunity, that he became the oracle and maſter of thoſe fiery republicans, whoſe audacity overturned the laws as well as the throne.

After the king was beheaded, the houſe of commons, which conſiſted only of about four

ſcore

ſcore madmen, aboliſhed the houſe of peers, and declared that the monarchy no longer ſubſiſted. Cromwell went to ſubdue Ireland, where the marquis of Ormond ſtill defended the good cauſe. He took by aſſault the town of Tredagh, put the garriſon, which was numerous, to the ſword, and ſpread ſo great terrour and deſpair, that more than forty thouſand Iriſh left their country, to enter into the ſervice of foreign princes. That people, who, in 1646, had been ſtirred up by a pope's nuncio to rebel againſt the king, had afterwards ſhewn themſelves ſincere royaliſts, perhaps out of hatred to the preſbyterians.

He ſubdues the Iriſh,

Scotland was ſoon after ſubjected to the yoke. The generous marquis of Montroſe, who had perſiſted in his fidelity to the crown, had been excommunicated in that country as a rebel to the *covenant*, afterwards hanged, and his limbs fixed up in the principal towns. Yet Charles II. the heir of his father's throne, caſt himſelf into the arms of the Scots, becauſe he had no other reſource. He ſubmitted to the humiliating terms impoſed by their fanatical zeal; but, being more a ſlave than a king among them, he had ſcarce a ſhadow of authority. The parliament's forces marched againſt them, under the command of Cromwell. The Scots, who were intrenched on the hills, might have conquered without fighting; but their clergymen, by propheſying a more glorious victory, forced general Leſly to march down and give battle; when Cromwell routed them at the firſt onſet, and that battle, which was fought at Dunbar, ruined

afterwards the Scots.

Charles II. in Scotland.

Battle of Dunbar.

ruined the hopes of Charles. He was not in the action; for the clergy being diſſatisfied with his conduct, he had been recalled from the camp, where he made himſelf the idol of the ſoldiers (1650).

Battle of Worceſter.

The next year, the king being obliged to take flight, boldly paſſed into England, while his oppreſſor was completing the conqueſt of Scotland. He was not expected; and his adherents aſſembled in amazement, without having taken any precaution. Cromwell, upon this, redoubled his activity, aſſembled the militia, and joining them to his troops, attacked the king in Worceſter, which he forced with dreadful ſlaughter. The unfortunate Charles fled in diſguiſe, concealed himſelf a whole day in an oak, and wandered forty days in the midſt of his enemies; at leaſt nobody had the weakneſs to betray him, notwithſtanding ſo many motives to turn traitor; and he found a veſſel to convey him into France (1651).

Flight of the king.

Cromwell general in chief.

Fairfax, the parliament's general, had reſigned the command before the expedition into Scotland, making a ſcruple of breaking the *covenant*, that ſacred league of the fanaticks of both nations. The artful Cromwell, who knew him to be inflexible in his notions, affected to diſſuade him warmly from his deſigned reſignation, and had duped men of ſimple minds, by an hypocritical moderation. Being now inveſted with the generalſhip, and maſter of the army, in whom the whole power was centered, he watched the favourable moment for riſing yet higher.

The

English commonwealth.

The Engliſh republick (for the tyrants aſſumed that majeſtick title) ſoon ſhewed herſelf formidable to her neighbours. She quarrelled with Holland, whoſe trade excited her jealouſy; and, by the famous *act of navigation*, foreigners were prohibited from importing any merchandize which was not the growth of their ſoil, or the produce of their manufactures. This was cutting off almoſt all the branches of the Dutch trade in England, and obliging the Engliſh to cultivate maritime commerce; accordingly, nothing has more contributed to the proſperity of that nation.

Navigation act.

War with Holland.

The ſtates general fruitleſsly ſtrove to prevent a war by negotiation. It was declared; and though they had a fleet of one hundred and fifty ſail, though their admirals Tromp and Ruyter performed wonders of ſkill and courage, the Engliſh had a clear ſuperiority. This they owed principally to the ſize of the veſſels built during the laſt reign. A ſtrange fatality that the tax of ſhip money, which was ſo beneficial from the application made of it by Charles, ſhould have ſerved as a pretence for the rebellion, and afterwards been a means of rendering the nation triumphant.

Cromwell diſſolves the parliament.

Theſe advantages inſpiriting the parliament, they attempted to ſhake off the yoke of the army, and free themſelves from the tyranny of Cromwell, who then diſplayed all the vigour of his character. Knowing that they were going to paſs a vote contrary to his views, he haſtened to the parliament houſe, followed by three hundred ſoldiers, inſulted that aſſembly, and loaded

it

it with bitter reproaches.—*Fie! withdraw*, cried he, *you are no longer a parliament, the Lord hath caſt you off.* He made the members go out one after the other, calling them *drunkards*, *thieves*, *whoremaſters*, &c. after which he locked up the houſe, and retired without fear. His own friends could not have believed him capable of an action ſo prodigiouſly bold; to which nothing parallel has ever been ſeen (1652).

He eſtabliſhes another, and diſſolves it.

To leave the nation ſome ſhadow of liberty, he formed another parliament, compoſed of fanaticks and the dregs of the people. This parliament, after having *ſought the Lord in prayer*, fell into a fit of delirium ſo ſtrong, that they declared the univerſities and ſciences pagan inſtitutions, and wanted to eſtabliſh the Moſaick law as the baſis of the Engliſh juriſprudence: At laſt they made themſelves ſo contemptible, that Cromwell determined to diſſolve them, which he did without any difficulty.

The title of protector beſtowed on him.

It was then that the council of war beſtowed on him the title of protector, which had been uſual in minorities, with the right of adminiſtering juſtice, declaring war, making peace, and concluding alliances, with a ſtanding army of thirty thouſand men. The protector was only obliged to take the advice of a council, to aſſemble the parliament every three years, and to keep it aſſembled five full months (1653). The Engliſh then had a maſter much more formidable than the laſt kings. The expenſes of the publick were enormous, and the nation murmured.

When

New parliament enſlaved.

When the parliament met, they wanted to examine the title of protector beſtowed by the council of war; but Cromwell ſoon forced them to acknowledge his authority, and even diſſolved theſe raſh men before the expiration of the preſcribed five months (1654).

Cromwell, while he oppreſſed the ſtate, made it reſpected.

If the protector oppreſſed the ſtate, at leaſt he made it reſpected abroad. He obliged Holland to yield the vain honour of the flag, for which a bloody war had been carried on. He ordered the execution of the Portugueſe ambaſſadour's brother, who had been guilty of a murder, and afterwards ſigned a treaty with the king of Portugal, upon terms advantageous to England. Being courted by the miniſters of France and Spain, he declared in favour of the

Conqueſt of Jamaica.

firſt of thoſe crowns; and the Engliſh took Jamaica from the Spaniards: An acquiſition of immenſe value, from the ſituation of that iſland, and ſtill more from the plantations, which have enriched it even by its own products.

Blake a great man.

The following year admiral Blake burnt a Spaniſh fleet at the Canaries, notwithſtanding the fire of a caſtle, and ſeven redoubts. A great man, and a good patriot, he ſerved the ſtate without loving Cromwell.—*We ought to fight for our country*, ſaid he, *into whatever hands it be fallen*. He was equally eſteemed by all parties, which is one of the ſtrongeſt proofs of extraordinary merit.

Mazarin baſely flatters Cromwell.

We have ſeen in what manner the protector got poſſeſſion of Dunkirk. It muſt be added, that Louis XIV. or Mazarin, deputed to him

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the duke of Crequi and the duke of Nevers, Mancini, the cardinal's nephew. This prime miniſter of France, in a letter quoted by Voltaire, aſſures Cromwell, that *he is ſorry not to have it in his power to pay in perſon the honours due to the greateſt man in the world.* How low men will deſcend, from motives of political intereſt!

A docile parliament.

Cromwell, in order to rivet his power, was deſirous of fixing to it the ſeal of the laws; and his glorious adminiſtration made him hope to meet with ſucceſs. In 1657 he called a parliament, which he found ready to ſecond his inclinations, after he had excluded ſuch members as he ſuſpected. The rights of the houſe of Stuart were immediately annulled; after which it was propoſed to confer the title of king upon the protector; and that extraordinary bill being paſſed, by a majority of voices, commiſſioners were deputed to offer him the crown.

Cromwell refuſes the crown.

Though this was what he long had in view, yet he refuſed it, either from a dread of conſpiracies, deference to the advice of his friends, or regard to the generous ſentiments of his ſon in law and brother in law, who declared their reſolution to throw up their employments, if he accepted the royalty. The parliament, therefore, confirmed his former title; to which they added a perpetual revenue, and the right of naming his ſucceſſor. Even this parliament was diſſolved, like the others, when it ceaſed to ſhew itſelf the ſlave of an ill diſguiſed deſpotiſm.

Voltaire

Thought of Voltaire on that ſubject.

Voltaire has made a reflection on that ſubject, which is, perhaps, rather ingenious than ſolid.—" *Cromwell, an uſurper, worthy of a* " *throne, had aſſumed the title of protector, not* " *that of king; becauſe the Engliſh knew how* " *far the regal prerogatives ought to extend,* " *but were not acquainted with the limits of* " *the protectoral authority.*" The army, which gave him that title, deteſted the name of king; for what reaſon, then, ſhould he have aſſumed it? And when the laſt parliament offered it to him, his confidents and relations uſed every imaginable argument to hinder him from accepting it. If that name tempted his pride, it would, in fact, have added nothing to his power.

Uneaſineſs and death of the protector.

But an important ſpectacle, which ought to make an indelible impreſſion on the ambitious, and at leaſt ſerve as a conſolation to the oppreſſed, is Cromwell, a prey to chagrin and the terrours to which tyranny gives birth, deteſted by his own daughters, dreading to be aſſaſſinated in the midſt of his guards, armed with a cuiraſs and a number of offenſive weapons, never daring to lie three nights in the ſame chamber. His diſquiet brought on a mortal diſeaſe. In vain did he propheſy his recovery; for either he ſtill wanted to deceive mankind, or was himſelf deceived by fanaticiſm. Having at laſt named his eldeſt ſon Richard to ſucceed him, he died, in 1658, at the age of fifty nine, the ſame day that he had gained the battles of Dunbar and Worceſter.

A few features will complete the picture of this extraordinary perſonage. When inveſted with ſupreme power, he ſtill preſerved his auſterity of manners. After ſacrificing every thing to his unfeeling ambition, he was a rigid obſerver of juſtice. Though enthuſiaſm was the chief inſtrument by which he effected his deſigns, he laughed with the deiſts at the folly of the ſectaries; and frequently curbed the puritans, thoſe fanaticks whoſe zeal had been the prime mover of the revolution. On the other ſide, he was in general tolerant, and even the deiſts, whom he ſtyled atheiſts, lived in peace around him. Their number increaſed every day; becauſe, unhappily, nothing is more proper to make men infidels, than the extravagances and exceſſes at that time ſo common under the name of religion. When the human mind has no rule, it avoids one rock, only to caſt itſelf upon another.

Singularities of this extraordinary man.

His toleration of the deiſts.

Among the ſects with which England was overrun, are diſtinguiſhed the quakers, founded by George Fox, a ſhoemaker's apprentice. Wanting to follow the goſpel literally, as has been the common madneſs of enthuſiaſts, they trampled on the rules of decorum, and the received cuſtoms of ſocial intercourſe. Every oath appeared to them criminal; they made it a point of religion to uſe the word *thou*, when they ſpoke to perſons of whatever rank, and refuſed to admit either prieſts or ſacraments. Their name expreſſes the convulſions into which they threw themſelves, in order to receive the

The quakers at firſt fanaticks.

holy ſpirit. As they forbid the uſe of arms, their fanaticiſm was the leaſt dangerous of any. Recovered now from their delirium, they preſerve the ſame fund of virtue and ſimplicity, integrity, plain dealing, mildneſs, patience, love of juſtice and peace, while they have got rid of their ridiculous practices; and perhaps the ſingularity of their manners contributes, in ſome degree, to the maintenance of their virtues; becauſe people readily contract the vices of ſociety when they have nothing to diſtinguiſh or ſeparate them from the multitude. Pennſylvania, which is principally inhabited by quakers, is the manſion of happineſs.

Short protectorate of Richard Cromwell, and his abdication.

Richard Cromwell ſucceeded his father without oppoſition, but had neither the genius nor reſolution neceſſary for ſo high a ſtation. Being a man of mild character and ſimple manners, upright, unambitious, and free from fanaticiſm, he was from the beginning the ſport of factions. The parliament which he aſſembled began to give him uneaſineſs, and the army gave him more. Some of the principal officers, and even his brother in law Fleetwood, formed cabals againſt his authority, and tumultuouſly demanded the diſſolution of the parliament, which had forbidden their ſeditious meetings. Having conſented to this, through weakneſs, he found himſelf without any ſupport, and abdicated in 1659, to live in the obſcurity of peaceful retirement. His brother, the lord lieutenant of Ireland, in like manner threw up all his employments. Thus diſappeared in a moment

moment the family of that uſurper, who had governed his commonwealth with the authority of a deſpot, and refuſed the title of king.

The council of war remaining in poſſeſſion of the power, and deſirous of ſeeming to pay reſpect to the laws, again collected the remains of the long parliament, which had been diſſolved by Cromwell after the judicial murder of Charles I. This aſſembly, which conſiſted of about forty members, was ſo contemptible, and ſo contemned, that it was called the *rump*. Attempting to act with the authority of a parliament, it offended the council of war, and was at once deſtroyed.

The *rump*, a ſhadow of a parliament.

Thus ſo many efforts for freedom, ſo many ſtruggles againſt the royal prerogative, ſo many crimes conſecrated by religious madneſs, ſo great an appearance of patriotick or republican zeal, had plunged the Engliſh nation, not only into the horrours of a civil war, but a ſtate of dreadful ſlavery. After the death of the king, every thing had been managed by the power of the ſword, which made the baſis of the government, fettered the laws, forced them to be ſilent, and diſhonoured the nation in the midſt of its trophies. The impoſts, one year with another, amounted to more than twelve millions ſterling, a revenue to which the crown had never raiſed any thing nearly equal. Cromwell's expenſes, only for ſpies and ſecret intelligence, are eſtimated at no leſs than ſixty thouſand pounds a year. He had left two millions of debts, though a great economiſt, and extremely attentive to the diſpoſal of the publick money. An army of

Unhappy ſtate of England.

Taxes under Cromwell.

more than fifty thouſand men, whoſe pay was a ſhilling for every foot ſoldier, and half a crown for every horſeman, devoured the vitals of the nation, in order to enſlave it, inſtead of being its defenders. Theſe misfortunes, almoſt inſeparable from ſuch a revolution, opened the eyes even of the preſbyterians, and convinced them, that to overturn the throne was to ruin the nation; they were, therefore, deſirous of reſtoring the royal family, and the other party longed for it with ſtill more eagerneſs. We ſhall ſee the new revolution brought about in 1660.

The people deſire the reſtoration of the royal authority.

CHAP. IV.

Reign and Abdication of CHRISTINA, *Queen of* SWEDEN.

Deſign of this chapter.

A YOUNG queen, fond of literature and the fine arts, ſacrificing to that paſſion her crown, and perhaps her religion, forms a remarkable contraſt with the ignorance, ſavage manners, violent fanaticiſm, and ſanguinary ambition of Cromwell. Chriſtina, queen of Sweden, daughter and heireſs of Guſtavus Adolphus, the conqueror of Germany, upon that account becomes an object worthy of our curioſity. I ſhall, therefore, collect into a ſingle picture the circumſtances of her life that are moſt important to be known, with this caution, that we muſt not ſuffer ourſelves to be dazzled by deceitful appearances nor ſuſpicious encomiums.

encomiums. It is the province of hiſtory to paſs ſentence upon men, eſpecially princes, according to the light in which their conduct appears after a ſtrict and impartial ſcrutiny.

When Guſtavus fell at the battle of Lutzen, in 1632, his daughter was only ſix years of age, and the regency of Sweden truſted the management of affairs to the chancellor Oxenſtiern, a man capable of proſecuting the great deſigns formed by that hero. The mind of the young queen was cultivated by learned preceptors, while the Swedes, by their courage and diſcipline, ſtruck terrour into the imperial court. Being endowed with a penetrating genius and retentive memory, ſhe ſoon appeared a prodigy; reading the Greek authors, and acquiring a knowledge of every thing, except what ought to have attached her to the duties of the crown; or, if ſhe did learn it, no leſſon was ſooner forgotten. Beginning of Chriſtina's reign.

The illuſtrious Grotius, whom we have ſeen perſecuted in Holland, as well as Barneveldt, for the ſenſeleſs controverſy of the Gomariſts and Arminians, not having met, in France, with the treatment from Richelieu which he deſerved, had found an honourable aſylum in Sweden; and was ſent, by the chancellor Oxenſtiern, ambaſſadour to that very court where Richelieu erected himſelf into a deſpotick judge, even of genius. This was a circumſtance the more mortifying to the French miniſter, as Grotius ſupported the dignity of his character with ſpirit. Chriſtina repoſed the ſame confidence in him, that had been done by the chancellor Oxenſtiern: Grotius in France and in Sweden.

Oxenſtiern : She was, above all, worthy to pay honour to literary merit.

The treaty of Weſtphalia haſtened by the queen's paſſion for letters.

When ſhe was of age to take the reins into her own hands, (her minority ended at the age of ſixteen) ſhe applied herſelf to buſineſs ; but at laſt her ruling paſſion prevailed : Letters, the arts, and every thing which gives a luſtre to ſocial life, had, for her, almoſt invincible charms. The peace of Weſtphalia was, at leaſt, one happy fruit of this predilection. Oxenſtiern preſſed the continuation of the war ; and the miſunderſtanding between the two Swediſh plenipotentiaries retarded the concluſion of the treaty ; but all delays were cut off by the queen's abſolute commands.

The court filled with learned men.

This conduct was worthy of the higheſt commendations, had it proceeded from a deſire of doing good to Europe, and particularly Sweden ; but the contrary was demonſtrated by experience. To enjoy repoſe, and give herſelf up to the amuſements ſuited to her inclination, were all that Chriſtina had at heart. Her court was filled with learned men, the greateſt part of whom ought to have been left in the duſt of their cloſet. Deſcartes injudiciouſly ſuffered himſelf to be attracted among the reſt, either by the reputation of that princeſs, or the vanity of ranking her in the number of his diſciples, where the change of life and the rigour of the climate killed him in a few months.

Deſcartes dies there.

The Swedes diſcontented with the whims of the queen.

A warlike nation, elated by its victories, and ſtill animated with zeal for Luther's reformation ; a ſenate renowned for profound policy ;

in

in a word, the Swedes in general, were diſpleaſed at ſeeing the daughter of the great Guſtavus diſdaining the cares of royalty, giving herſelf up to a barren philoſophy, to reſearches of erudition, the ſtudy of the learned languages, a paſſion for medals, ſtatues, and pictures, interludes and magnificent feſtivals; and laviſhing the finances on ſuperfluities and men of mean talents. It was thought, with reaſon, that a taſte for ſuch things does honour to a ſovereign only when he does not ſuffer them to come in competition with his duties, and keeps them in ſubordination to the eſſential benefit of the people.

Chriſtina refuſes to marry.

The Swedes ardently deſired, that the queen would marry, and, at leaſt, give an heir to the crown; but, like the famous Elizabeth of England, ſhe was too fond of liberty to give her conſent. Why did ſhe not imitate the ſame Elizabeth in her application to the labours of government? She would then have been more admired for her erudition.

She names the count palatine for her ſucceſſor.

Charles Guſtavus, count palatine of Deux Ponts, Chriſtina's couſin, was the huſband pointed out for her by the publick wiſhes. But being reſolved to live ſingle, ſhe gladly named him her ſucceſſor in 1650; and this ſtep made Sweden more eaſy. That prince politically kept at a diſtance from court, and from buſineſs; diſſembling his ambition for the throne, yet gaining the affections of the people, to make them wiſh for his reign. Chriſtina being again ſolicited to marry, declared to the ſenate, in 1651, a reſolution to abdicate the crown: But it is difficult to believe this declaration ſincere;

and

and the ſenators, from a dread leſt they ſhould fall into ſome miſtake, conjured her to relinquiſh that deſign; ſhe yielded to their intreaties, upon condition that ſhe ſhould no longer be preſſed to marry. In a conjuncture ſo critical, Charles Guſtavus acted with as great reſerve as the ſenate.

Michon and Pimentel favourites of Chriſtina.

Notwithſtanding the maſculine ſpirit and character of the queen, ſhe had a tincture of fickleneſs and caprice. Michon, a French phyſician, (who took the name of Bourdelot, becauſe his uncle, by the mother's ſide, who bore that name, was known in the claſs of literati) gained her whole confidence to ſuch a degree, that he made her loſe her reliſh for ſtudy. Pimentel, the Spaniſh miniſter, having wormed out this odious favourite, in his turn enjoyed the greateſt ſhare of her good graces, and revived the paſſion for letters, by extolling her genius in the moſt flattering ſtrains. An ambaſſadour from Cromwell, negotiating with Sweden, complained, that in his audiences he could hear of nothing but philoſophy and interludes. France, and even Sweden, took ſo great umbrage at Pimentel's credit, that at laſt he was diſcharged.

She abdicates in diſguſt in 1654.

Wearied more than ever with buſineſs, ſighing for the pleaſure of living at liberty with learned men, a prey to the melancholy produced by the diſguſt and neceſſity of diſcharging her duties, thinking, to uſe her own expreſſion, that *ſhe ſaw the devil* when her ſecretaries came into her preſence with their papers, Chriſtina reſumed in earneſt her project of abdication, and declared that reſolution at the opening of the

aſſembly

assembly of the states at Upsal, in 1654; to which they gave their consent, after a slight opposition for the sake of decorum. They secured to her a revenue on some domains of which she could not obtain the sovereignty. Charles Gustavus refused to reign without enjoying the full rights of the crown, and he found means to gain it without incurring the suspicion of ingratitude.

Her letter to Chanut, the French ambassadour.

"*I give myself no uneasiness about the* plau-"dite," said Christina, in her letter to the French ambassadour Chanut—"*it is seldom* "*that a manly and vigorous design can please* "*every body; I shall be satisfied with the ap-* "*probation of a single person, and even that I am* "*willing to forego. What pleasure will it be to* "*reflect that I have done good to mankind!*" Why then, says M. d'Alembert, in his Miscellanies, would she cease to do it? That philosopher seems to have formed a just estimate of this princess, who has been too much extolled, either by declaiming panegyrists or men of genius, who have considered her only in one point of view.

Another letter to the great Condé.

In a letter to the prince of Condé she said—"*I will never stain an action, which appeared* "*to me so noble, by a mean regret; and if it* "*should meet with your disapprobation, I will* "*allege, as the only excuse, that I would never* "*have resigned the gifts which fortune bestow-* "*ed on me, had I thought them necessary to my* "*happiness; and that I would have aspired* "*to the empire of the world, had I been equally*

"*sure*

Her sentiments unworthy of commendation.

"*ſure of ſucceeding, or dying in the attempt, as* "*the great Condé.*" When M. Voltaire quoted this letter, he might have obſerved, that ſhe, notwithſtanding, did repent; that ſhe wiſhed to reaſcend the throne; and that the extravagant idea of *the empire of the world* is far from being conſiſtent with the abdication. She preferred living with men who could think, ſays that celebrated hiſtorian, to the government of a people without literature, and void of genius. But is there any thing more worthy of a great ſoul, than giving happineſs to a people? And were the literati, in queſt of whom Chriſtina travelled ſo far, much greater proficients in thinking than the Swedes? The medal which ſhe cauſed to be ſtruck with this inſcription—*Parnaſſus excels the throne*, ſhews a love for letters, but not a love of mankind. Let us follow her to her Parnaſſus.

Her departure and abjuration.

After ſtripping the palace of all the moſt valuable effects, ſhe ſet out in man's apparel; and when ſhe arrived on the borders of Denmark, cried out—*Now at laſt I am free and out of Sweden, in which I hope that I ſhall never more ſet my foot*; an expreſſion that indicates ill humour. She embraced the catholick religion at Bruſſels, and ſolemnly abjured Lutheraniſm at Inſpruck. The catholicks would have had leſs reaſon to triumph on account of this change of profeſſion, had they reflected on the paſſion which drew her to Rome, the centre of the fine arts, and the place where ſhe deſigned to fix her reſidence. The proteſtants accuſed her of acting

acting only on worldly motives. Perhaps party ſpirit influenced the judgment of both ſides; and party ſpirit ordinarily judgeth ill.

Her two journies into France.

Rome did not ſo charm Chriſtina as to prevent a deſire of ſeeing, or being ſeen, in France, to which ſhe took a journey in 1656. Not being much reliſhed at the gallant court of Louis XIV. ſhe viſited the literati of Paris; but the perſon whom ſhe moſt diſtinguiſhed was Menage, who at preſent is hardly known, except by name. Scarcely was ſhe returned to Rome, when ſhe wiſhed again to be in France, to which ſhe paid a ſecond viſit in 1657; when ſhe diſhonoured herſelf by the murder of Monaldeſchi, her maſter of the horſe, whom ſhe cauſed to be aſſaſſinated in the gallery at Fontainbleau, probably in a fit of jealouſy upon account of an intrigue. Being looked upon with abhorrence by the French, after this infamous action, which yet found apologiſts, Chriſtina returned to Rome to admire antiques and ſtatues.

Murder of her grand equerry.

Her two journies into Sweden.

Charles X. her ſucceſſor, dying in 1660, after a ſeries of ruinous wars with Poland, and Denmark, ſhe took a journey into her old kingdom, with a deſire to remount the throne. But the Swedes obliged her to make another ſolemn renunciation. Some years after ſhe again travelled into Sweden, and having met with no better ſucceſs, went back to Rome, where ſhe died in 1689. So frequent changes of place prove, that, with a good ſhare of wit and learning, ſhe had been miſtaken in ſeeking happineſs out of her own ſphere.

Being

She was not much reſpected at Rome.

Being a queen without dominions, little reſpect was paid to her in a capital where the value of every thing is fixed by politicks or intereſt; ſhe even had not ſufficient freedom to expreſs herſelf, without diſguiſe, on the motion of the earth round the ſun; on the contrary, ſhe there maintained the pope's infallibility with all the zeal of a theologian, though ſhe was candid enough to blame the perſecutions inflicted on the Calviniſts in France.

CHAP. V.

PEACE *of the* PYRENEES *in* 1659, *and of* OLIVA *in* 1660.—RESTORATION *of the* ENGLISH MONARCHY.—DEATH *of Cardinal* MAZARIN.

Interregnum after the death of Ferdinand III.

THE decline of the Auſtrian power gave France a ſuperiority, which from this period will produce the moſt memorable events. The death of the emperour Ferdinand III. in 1657, was followed by an interregnum in the empire, which laſted fifteen months. His eldeſt ſon, whom he had cauſed to be elected king of the Romans, was dead, and his other ſon Leopold, king of Hungary and Bohemia, found a competitor in Louis XIV. Four electors at firſt deſtined the crown to that monarch. Had Mazarin ſucceeded in the negotiation, what would have become of Germany? But the other electors making a warm oppoſition, the elector of Bavaria was propoſed, and France offered to ſupport him. However, that prince refuſed:

Louis XIV. a competitor for the empire.

refuſed: His mother, who was ſiſter to Ferdinand III. prevailed on him to make this generous ſacrifice in favour of the houſe of Auſtria. The diet was ſo diſturbed by factions, that there was every appearance of a ſchiſm.

At laſt Leopold was elected in 1658, to which the French ambaſſadours conſented, after cauſing him to be ſubjected to the hardeſt conditions; for he was obliged not to take any ſhare in the war between France and Spain, not even in quality of duke of Auſtria. The fear of again falling under a deſpotick government, wrought with irreſiſtible influence on diſtruſtful minds. It produced *the alliance of the Rhine*, between the three eccleſiaſtical electors, the biſhop of Munſter, the palatine of Neuburg, the dukes of Brunſwick Lunenburg, with the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, on one part, and Sweden on the other, inviolably to maintain the treaty of Weſtphalia. France ſoon acceded to that league; but the elector of Treves and the biſhop of Munſter ſeparated from it, becauſe it was condemned by the court of Rome. Ought they not to have foreſeen this, when they entered into their contract? The alliance of the Rhine was renewed ſeveral times till 1666; by which means France almoſt governed the empire. Yet Leopold, who was a wiſe and circumſpect prince, neceſſarily acquired, by degrees, a conſiderable ſhare of authority during a reign which laſted forty ſeven years.

Election of Leopold.

Alliance of the Rhine.

We have ſeen Spain, by her obſtinate continuance of the war, loſe the advantages ſhe had reaped

Negotiations for a peace with Spain.

reaped from the cabals of the fronde, obliged to oppoſe the united efforts of France, England, and Portugal; and at laſt vanquiſhed on every ſide, in 1658. Two years before, Mazarin had made an overture for peace to Philip IV. by propoſing a match between the infanta Maria Thereſa and Louis; but Philip being then without an heir male that had any probability of coming to the ſucceſſion, deſigned his daughter for the archduke Leopold, and therefore refuſed the offer. After the battle of Dunes, the ſame motive no longer ſubſiſting, and beſides, the war being become unſupportable, the infanta was promiſed to the king, and the negotiations were renewed in the Iſle of Pheaſants, ſituated on the frontiers of the two kingdoms.

1659. Mazarin and de Haro in the Iſle of Pheaſants.

There cardinal Mazarin diſplayed his whole addreſs. Don Louis de Haro, the Spaniſh miniſter, in treating with him, ſuſpected him every moment of a deſign to deceive, and oppoſed to him the delays of diſtruſt. Accordingly, it was three months before the negotiation was concluded. The ceremonial alone took up a vaſt deal of time; as if the purpoſe of the meeting had been to ſettle the rights of precedence, not to conclude peace between ſtates. Notwithſtanding the artifices of Mazarin, the Spaniard obtained an entire equality.

Treaty of the Pyrenees.

The principal articles of this treaty were, that the infanta ſhould be given to Louis XIV. with a portion of five hundred thouſand gold crowns, (two millions five hundred thouſand livres) and that princeſs obliged to renounce the rights which ſhe might one day have

have to the crown of Spain. Several towns to be reſtored on both ſides, but France to keep the territory of Rouſſillon, and part of Artois. The prince of Condé to be reeſtabliſhed, and received into favour. Mazarin did not conſent to this article, till after much oppoſition; he dreaded that Spain would grant the prince ſome towns in the Low Countries. Charles IV. to be again put in poſſeſſion of his dominions, on condition of his keeping on foot no army, and that the town of Nanci ſhould be diſmantled. This fickle prince had equally irritated both crowns.

Marriage of the infanta, which produced important conſequences.

Mazarin had, for a long time, projected the marriage of the infanta, as a great ſtroke of politicks; foreſeeing that renunciations would be uſeleſs, if the ſucceſſion ſhould be open, which was likewiſe done by Philip IV. and his miniſter; but there was no appearance of Spain's being in want of heirs.

1660. Treaty of Oliva, after the death of Charles X.

The war was ended in the ſouth of Europe by the treaty of the Pyrenees, and peace was reſtored to the north by the treaty of Oliva, concluded the year following. The pretenſions of Caſimir, king of Poland, upon Sweden, after the abdication of Chriſtina, had kindled a bloody war. Charles X. in imitation of the great Guſtavus, firſt conquered Poland, but again loſt it, and was unſucceſsful in Denmark: Vexation for theſe misfortunes had, a little before this period, put an end to his life. The negotiations were already begun under the mediation of France, and the treaty at laſt concluded, by which Caſimir gave up his pretenſions.

ſions. The northern part of Livonia and Eſthonia were yielded to Sweden, and ſhe reſtored Poliſh Pruſſia. Some days after, another treaty was ſigned at Copenhagen, by which Frederick III. king of Denmark, made conſiderable ſacrifices to Sweden.

Abſolute power granted to the king of Denmark, Frederick III.

But, on the other hand, that prince gained more in his own kingdom than he could have done by conqueſts, if the happineſs of ſovereigns is to be eſtimated by the degree of power which they have over their ſubjects. The valour with which he had defended Copenhagen againſt Charles X. gained him the affection of the nation, at the ſame time that they deteſted the injuſtice of the nobility and the ſenate, whoſe power was become tyrannical; for they threw the burden of the taxes on the commons. To avenge themſelves of thoſe oppreſſors, they ſacrificed the national liberty to the king. The aſſembly of the ſtates, in 1660, made the crown entirely hereditary in the houſe of Frederick, and conferred upon him abſolute authority, without its being in the power of the nobility to make an oppoſition.

That power employed with prudence.

It is a thing no leſs ſurpriſing, that the kings of Denmark, though armed with arbitrary power, have uſed it with prudence and moderation. So much are governments reſtrained by the manners and cuſtoms of a brave people. What other cauſe can be aſſigned, or even imagined, for this wonderful fact in a ſucceſſion of ſix kings? We ſhall ſee Sweden take nearly the ſame ſtep in 1680, but, repenting of it, reſume her liberty after the death of Charles XII.

XII. and eſtabliſh a new government, which ſhe again changed. A ſingle circumſtance may make an univerſal alteration in political order.

Sudden revolution in England.

The ſudden revolution in favour of monarchy, which happened in England, was brought about the ſame year with that of Denmark. There are few events equally extraordinary. During the negotiations of the treaty of the Pyrenées, Charles II. a fugitive, and deſtitute of reſource, came to Fontarabia to ſolicit the protection of the two crowns; but they neither deigned to liſten to him, nor to mention his name. He had loſt all hope, yet his misfortunes were on the point of being brought to a period.

The council of war had ſeized the government.

After Richard Cromwell's abdication, the council of war, as I have mentioned elſewhere, aſſumed an abſolute authority, and aſſembled the *rump* to ſerve as a cover for their tyranny, but ſoon after turned out that phantom of a parliament. Lambert, by his ambition and boldneſs, played in the army the ſame part which had raiſed Cromwell to the ſupreme power. But the body of the nation ſighed for the reſtoration of the monarchy, the plan of which a great man formed in ſecret, and ſuddenly executed.

Monk cauſes a free parliament to be aſſembled.

George Monk, a celebrated general, virtuous patriot, and wiſe politician, was governour of Scotland, and declared in favour of the parliament which was driven out by Lambert. On this news England was thrown into commotion, even whole regiments revolted againſt the army; the rump reaſſembled, gave orders,

and was obeyed; and Lambert, abandoned by his ſoldiers, could not defend himſelf. Monk arrived without diſcloſing his intentions to any one. He appeared ſubmiſſive to the parliament, and entered London by their orders. But, joining the city againſt that odious and contemptible body, he openly reproached them with their tyrannical conduct; and the members that were formerly excluded having been invited to return, thoſe of the rump retired filled with ſhame, and a free parliament was called to remedy the evils of the ſtate. Thus every thing took the moſt happy turn, and no blood was ſpilt.

Reſtoration of the monarchy.

Scarcely was the parliament aſſembled, when an envoy from the king preſented himſelf, and gave in a declaration, by which Charles granted an indemnity to all perſons except thoſe whom the parliament ſhould be pleaſed to pitch upon; promiſing, beſides, full liberty of conſcience, and engaging to pay the troops their arrears. Then was the proper time to have fixed the reſpective rights of the nation and the crown; a meaſure which every thing ſeemed to require, after ſuch murderous diſſenſions; but nothing of this was done. It was believed that the conceſſions made by Charles I. would ſufficiently limit the royal authority; or the people blindly gave themſelves up to the deſire of being under a lawful government. Charles II. was proclaimed, and received with tranſports of joy, in 1660.

Charles II. aſcends the throne.

That prince, who was then thirty years of age, mild, amiable, and of a good underſtanding,

ing, might have made himſelf the idol of his people: Adverſity, more proper to form the mind of a ſovereign than any other kind of inſtruction, had given him practical leſſons, the uſe of which is unknown in the pomp and luxury of courts. His clemency ſaved a multitude of criminals, whom the parliament was deſirous of excepting from the indemnity. Only Vane and Lambert, two furious republicans, were excluded from taking the benefit of it, together with the parricide judges, who had condemned the late king. The execution of eleven perſons was reckoned ſufficient expiation for the guilt of ſo many crimes. Theſe criminals ſignalized their fanaticiſm to the laſt, maintained that they had acted by the impulſe of the holy ſpirit, and thought themſelves martyrs.

Trial of ſome republicans.

The parliament ſettled on the crown a revenue of twelve hundred thouſand pounds. The troops were paid and diſcharged, and only five thouſand men, with ſome garriſons, were retained of that dangerous army. This is the firſt inſtance of ſtanding forces being kept by the kings of England; and if the people look upon it as an encroachment on their liberties, ought they not to aſcribe it to the example of Cromwell? Charles reſtored epiſcopacy even in Scotland; for the Scotch parliament was equally complaiſant with the Engliſh. The covenant was annulled; and what appeared juſt and ſacred in the time of the commonwealth, was then deemed worthy of condemnation. Nothing was more difficult than to hold the balance between ſects

Every thing ſettled according to the pleaſure of the king.

always at variance, always obſtinate. The preſbyterians ſoon met with ſeverities ſufficient to exaſperate them; conſequently the ſeeds of diſcord ſtill ſubſiſted, and we ſhall ſee them produce pernicious fruits.

Two great faults in Charles.

Charles was expoſed to misfortunes or vexation by two great faults in his character: He was too fond of pleaſure, and had no economy. His exceſſive love of pleaſure was inconſiſtent with the cares of government; and, beſides, what vices muſt it not implant in the court? His want of economy was the more dangerous, as the expenſes of the crown exceeded the revenue, however liberal the parliament at firſt appeared. Accordingly, after diſſipating the portion of his wife, Catharine of Portugal, and two hundred thouſand crowns which had been given him by France, he ſold Dunkirk to Louis XIV. in 1662, for five millions of livres, at twenty ſix livres ten ſous the mark of ſilver. Notwithſtanding the prodigious expenſe of maintaining the garriſon, all England murmured at the ſale of that place, the acquiſition of which was a great advantage to France.*

He ſells Dunkirk through want of economy.

1661. Death of Mazarin: Settlement of his family.

Mazarin was not then alive. He died in 1661, as abſolute maſter of the ſtate as Richelieu had been, diſplaying the ſame pomp, though he had at firſt put on an appearance of modeſty; and leaving to his heirs an immenſe fortune, accumulated by methods which expoſed him to juſt reproaches. He had married two of his nieces (Martinozzi) to the prince of Conti

* Price of Dunkirk 400,000l.

Conti and the duke of Modena. His five other nieces (Mancini) were married, one to the marquis of Meillerai, who was duke de Mazarin; another to the count de Soiſſons of the houſe of Savoy, father of the famous prince Eugene; the third to the duke de Vendôme, afterwards cardinal; the fourth (whom the king wanted to eſpouſe) to the conſtable Colonna; and the youngeſt to the duke de Bouillon. Mancini, the miniſter's nephew, was duke of Nevers.

He gained the greateſt reputation by his treaties of peace.

Such great eſtabliſhments muſt doubtleſs appear burdenſome to the nation. Mazarin had not, any more than Richelieu, done France ſufficient ſervice to make her think it a happineſs to enrich him and his family. But it would be unjuſt to refuſe him the eulogiums he deſerves for the treaties of Weſtphalia and the Pyrenées; the title of peace maker is ſo glorious! and the wars put an end to by theſe treaties, had cauſed ſo many miſeries, devaſtations and maſſacres!

Whether great talents be neceſſary for a miniſter.

"*When we read the letters of cardinal Mazarin,*" ſays M. de Voltaire, "*and the memoirs of cardinal de Retz, we clearly perceive that Retz was the ſuperiour genius, yet Mazarin was all powerful, and Retz was ruined. To make a powerful miniſter, commonly nothing more is requiſite than good ſenſe and good fortune; but to be a good miniſter, the ruling paſſion muſt be the good of the publick.*" Theſe reflections ſeem to confirm what chancellor Oxenſtiern ſaid, in a letter to his ſon—*Don't you know how ſmall a matter the ſecret of governing*

the

the world amounts to? Yet a Sulli will always be a prodigy; and whoever will, like him, ſecure the publick weal, even though he may have ſome other ruling paſſion, will find a place among the great men.

CHAP. VI.

LOUIS XIV. *makes himſelf reſpected abroad, and puts his kingdom in a flouriſhing ſtate.—Affairs of* EUROPE *till* 1667.

1661. Louis ſeemed ill qualified for the government,

IT was not imagined that Louis XIV. would aſſume the reins of government, after the death of a miniſter whom he had permitted to hold them with abſolute authority. Ill educated, ignorant, addicted to pleaſure, kept at a diſtance from buſineſs by the ambition of Mazarin, with ſcarcely any idea of the art of government; at a time of life when moſt men are enſlaved and blinded by their paſſions; and the more obnoxious to fall into weakneſſes, as, at the age of twenty two, he was aſſailed by all the ſeductions of grandeur; it ſeemed impoſſible that he ſhould not imitate the great numbers of princes who have ſuffered their miniſters to reign in their name, and, reſerving to themſelves only the pleaſures and honours of the throne, thrown all its burdenſome duties upon others, who ſeldom diſcharged them to the advantage of their maſters.

But

But that young king had an elevated and ambitious ſoul, a thirſt for glory, and a fondneſs for dominion. Though ſubmiſſive to Mazarin from habit, he had borne the yoke with ſecret impatience; and, the moment that he ſaw himſelf freed from it, declared his reſolution to take the reins into his own hands, and put it in practice. If he had frequently been miſled by the cardinal, that miniſter had at leaſt inſpired him with confidence for Colbert, one of the greateſt ſtateſmen that the kingdom has produced. Fouquet, ſuperintendent of the finances, who diſſipated the publick money, was diſgraced and impriſoned, after a ſumptuous entertainment which he gave the king at Vaux, (now Villars) a pleaſure houſe, which it is ſaid coſt him eighteen millions of the then current money. His ſucceſſor, Colbert, had only the title of comptroller general. In his hands the finances became a ſource of proſperity and ſplendour.

yet he aſſumes it.

Colbert ſucceeds Fouquet in the management of the finances.

With better principles of morality and politicks, with more juſt ideas of the true glory of ſovereigns, Louis XIV. aided by Colbert, might have made France the moſt flouriſhing kingdom in the world; and would not have drawn upon himſelf ſo many wars, which were much leſs glorious than hurtful. Two occaſions immediately preſented themſelves, in which he ſhewed a vanity or haughtineſs which gave a bad prognoſtick of the future; and by which he made himſelf feared, but at the ſame time hated.

Faults of the king.

He forces Spain to acknowledge the ſuperiority of his crown.

A diſpute on precedence happening between his ambaſſadour and that of Spain, at London, furniſhed the firſt occaſion. The Frenchman having been inſulted by the Spaniard in the open ſtreet, a reparation for that outrage became neceſſary; and Louis threatened his father in law, Philip IV. to renew the war, unleſs the ſuperiority of his crown was acknowledged. But this was too much for a point of honour. Is the blood of nations then ſo trivial a matter, that it may be ſhed unneceſſarily? Philip humbled himſelf, becauſe he could do no better; recalled and puniſhed his ambaſſadour, and ſent the count de Fuentes to Fontainebleau, to declare, in preſence of all the foreign ambaſſadours, that the Spaniſh miniſters ſhould no more diſpute the precedence with thoſe of France; yet they afterwards had an equality at Nimeguen and Ryſwick.

1662. Affair of the duke de Crequi at Rome.

The ſecond affair made the more noiſe, as it intereſted the court of Rome. The duke de Crequi, ambaſſadour of Louis XIV. behaved with a haughtineſs which made him odious; and his domeſticks, in imitation of their maſter, acted with the moſt unbridled licentiouſneſs. Some of them having attacked the Corſican guard, which was principally employed in ſupporting the execution of juſtice, that corps roſe in a tumult, fired upon the coach of the ambaſſadreſs, and killed one of her pages. Upon this the duke of Crequi quitted Rome, accuſing the brother of pope Alexander VII. (Chigi) as the inſtigator of the murderers, and the king demanded a ſatisfaction proportioned to the injury.

The

Humiliation of the pope.

The pope in vain endeavoured to gain time, and flattered himſelf with the hopes of quaſhing the affair by the Roman policy, when he received advice that the French troops had already entered Italy on their way to beſiege Rome. No power dared to make the leaſt motion in his favour; Avignon was in the hands of the king, and the thunders of the Vatican would only have ſerved to increaſe the miſchief; ſo greatly were men's opinions changed in the courſe of a century. Alexander was therefore obliged to humble himſelf ſtill more than Philip IV. In conſequence of the treaty of Piſa, cardinal Chigi, his nephew, came, in quality of legate, to give the ſatisfaction which Louis required. This was, in ſome meaſure, making amends for the deſpotick acts of violence committed by the ancient legates. The Corſicans were diſcharged, a pyramid was erected at Rome in memory of the event, and, beſides, it was ſtipulated, that the pope ſhould reſtore Caſtro and Ronciglione to the duke of Parma for a ſum payable in eight years: He was likewiſe to indemnify the duke of Modena for Comacchio.

Treaty of Piſa in 1664.

Europe had reaſon to dread Louis.

Theſe acts of vigour, the examples of which were before his time ſo ſeldom ſeen, declared what Europe had to dread from an imperious monarch, powerful, young, and in a condition to execute the greateſt enterpriſes. He extended his views with his power; he wanted to domineer, and took the proper meaſures for gratifying his deſire.

Charles

Singular treaty with the duke of Lorraine.

Charles IV. duke of Lorraine, by an incomprehenſible treaty, which was regiſtered in the parliament, had a little before made him heir to his dominions, on condition that the princes of the blood of Lorraine ſhould be declared princes of the blood of France. A clauſe in the regiſtration bore, that the ſignature of all the parties concerned ſhould be neceſſary; which hindered the treaty from taking effect. Whether it proceeded from a new piece of inconſtancy in Charles, or precaution and impetuoſity in Louis, a French army marched into Lorraine; and the duke, by a new treaty, gave up the important city of Marſal (1663).

Works at Dunkirk.

The French then laboured to make Dunkirk, which had been purchaſed from the king of England, a bulwark of France, and a port formidable to the Engliſh; and thirty thouſand men were employed in conſtructing that great work, which the fortune of war at laſt obliged Louis to throw down with his own hands.

Succours given to Leopold againſt the Turks.

At the ſame time he ſent ſuccours to Leopold againſt the Turks, who, after having overran Tranſilvania, and ravaged Moravia, threatened Hungary with an invaſion. Six thouſand French joined the imperial troops, and greatly contributed to the victory of St. Gothard on the Raab, where the enemy were defeated. The more praiſe the French deſerved, the more was it dreaded that France ſhould acquire too great power in Germany. Beſides, the diſorder in the revenue made an accommodation neceſſary. Leopold therefore concluded a peace or truce with the vanquiſhed for twenty years, and left the

the prince of Tranſilvania their tributary; (1664) a humiliating treaty to the court of Vienna!

Louis made almoſt every power in Europe feel his grandeur. He had ſome reaſons of complaint againſt Spain, and policy invited him to aſſiſt Portugal, which was ſtill attacked by that power. Mareſchal Schomberg, therefore, led into that country four thouſand men, apparently in the pay of the king of Portugal, Alphonſo VI. ſon of the fortunate John IV. Thoſe troops enabled the Portugueſe to gain a deciſive battle at Eſtremos, followed by another at Villavicioſa in 1665; and from that time the family of Braganza was firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne which had been diſputed with them. Succours given to Portugal againſt Spain.

A new war, kindled between England and Holland, neceſſarily intereſted a monarch ſo attentive to the motions of Europe, and ſo much occupied with great deſigns. The Engliſh, rather from jealouſy than good reaſons, broke with a republick which rivalled them in trade. The houſe of commons was deſirous of a war, and Charles II. undertook it; when they granted him a ſubſidy, greater than any that had been ever before voted, of about two millions and a half ſterling. The grand penſionary John de Wit, not being able to avert the ſtorm, oppoſed it with forces and a reſolution worthy of reſpect. The ſea was covered with the ſhips of the two nations. The Engliſh fleet, commanded by the duke of York, conſiſted of one hundred and fourteen ſail, and had twenty two thouſand men on board. It gained a victory in 1665, but de Wit ſoon repaired that misfortune. War between England and Holland.

Louis

Louis on the ſide of the Dutch. French navy.

Louis had declared for Holland. Colbert had begun to reſtore, or rather to create a navy, and the duke de Beaufort commanded a ſquadron of forty ſail, but could not join the Dutch, who notwithſtanding gained ſome advantage in a dreadful engagement, which laſted four days. The Engliſh afterwards defeated Ruyter, who making a glorious retreat, lamented that he had eſcaped ſo many cannon balls. England ſoon perceived that ſhe was ruining herſelf to no purpoſe, and that Holland, by her riches, which were the fruits of economy, was capable of ſupporting the war a longer time. More than one hundred thouſand men had loſt their lives in London by the plague. A fire conſumed above thirteen thouſand houſes in that city; for it was almoſt entirely built of wood. In the midſt of ſo many calamities, the rage of war relaxed. Negotiations were carried on at Breda, during which Ruyter burned ſome ſhips in the Thames. At laſt peace was concluded in 1667. By the treaty of Breda, Newyork was ſecured to the Engliſh, the iſle of Poleron in the Eaſt Indies to the Dutch, and Acadia to the French.

Calamities in England.

Treaty of Breda.

Clarendon unjuſtly ſacrificed by Charles II.

The people, above all a free and turbulent people, are for the moſt part unjuſt enough to impute to their governours the misfortunes for which they are leaſt anſwerable. Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, chancellor of England, an able, virtuous, and incorruptible miniſter, in the midſt of a very corrupt court, was the object and victim of the popular odium, becauſe that war had been unſucceſsful, though it was undertaken even againſt his advice. Charles II.

finding

finding in him the auſterity of a ſage, and not the complaiſance of a flatterer, withdrew his affection, was uneaſy at his preſence, and deprived him of the ſeals. He was impeached in parliament, chiefly as having adviſed the ſale of Dunkirk; an imaginary crime, unleſs we will call by that name every imprudent advice. Sentence of baniſhment being paſſed againſt Clarendon, he was obliged to quit England, and ſettled in France, where he compoſed a work worthy of immortality, the hiſtory of the laſt civil wars in his own country.

Advantages of the French government over the Engliſh at that time.

Nothing can be a clearer proof of the advantages attendant on a firm and abſolute government, when it is directed to the publick good, (which, it muſt be owned, is too ſeldom the caſe) than the contraſt of France with England at the period to which we are now come. Charles, voluptuous and prodigal, brought himſelf, by his diſſipation, into a ſtate of dependence on his parliament, by whoſe economy and authority he was prevented from doing all the good which he might have done. Louis aſpired to the performance of great actions; and having all the means at his diſpoſal, though he beſtowed a great deal on magnificence and pleaſures, yet made his kingdom flouriſh. Clarendon had adviſed the ſale of Dunkirk, for want of reſources proportioned to the neceſſities of the crown; Colbert had at once enriched the ſovereign and the nation, in ſuch a manner that he could join ſplendour to utility. Perhaps he would have ſurpaſſed Sulli, had the king been leſs fond of war and magnificence.

From

Colbert recovers the finances.

From the time of Henry IV. the finances languiſhed in a moſt ruinous condition; nor could they be recovered but by puniſhing the depredations, reforming a multitude of abuſes that had been authorized, and returning the purchaſe money to thoſe who had bought annuities at a low price. Theſe novelties met with oppoſition from the parliament; but the king ſpoke in the tone of a maſter, and made himſelf obeyed. The unwarrantable behaviour of the fronde had irritated him againſt a body of magiſtrates, who ſometimes tranſgreſſing the proper bounds, gave room to forget their former ſervices. In 1655, Louis had appeared in the ſanctuary of juſtice, dreſſed in boots, with a whip in his hand, in order to break up a meeting. He was not then acquainted with what decency preſcribes to the ſovereign. In 1664 he went, in a manner ſuitable to his dignity, to cauſe his edicts to be regiſtered. Being teazed with remonſtrances, in 1667 he prohibited any more to be preſented before the regiſtration. The remonſtrances then ceaſed, the royal authority was exerciſed with the greateſt vigour and promptitude: But if the government committed a miſtake, and injured the laws of the people, who could prevent the miſchief by carrying truth to the foot of the throne?

The parliament forced to obey.

Commerce flouriſhing.

It is certain that Colbert lightened the burdens of the people, and conſiderably augmented the receipts. The protection granted to trade was a ſource of riches to the ſtate. Dunkirk and Marſeilles, being declared free ports, were

were crowded with veſſels and merchandize. The India company, eſtabliſhed in 1664, had too great ſucceſs to ſuffer men to foreſee the inconveniences which it would one day produce. The manufactures of looking glaſs, fine cloths, rich ſtuffs, and beautiful tapeſtries, roſe in a little time, and were ſoon carried to a great height. Wonders were produced by the French induſtry, the moment that it was encouraged; and all nations, in a manner, became its tributaries. Circulation ſenſibly increaſed. Colbert reduced intereſt to five *per cent.* in 1665; Sulli had reduced it to ſix and a quarter; Richelieu to five and five ninths. Some able reaſoners maintain at preſent, that it would be better to leave it entirely free.

Abuſes which Colbert could not reform.

According to the author of the Age of Louis XIV.—" *The miniſter, Colbert, did not all that* " *he could have done, ſtill leſs all that he would* " *have done. Men were not at that time ſuf-* " *ficiently enlightened, and in a great kingdom* " *there are always great abuſes. The arbitra-* " *ry taille, the multiplicity of duties, the cuſtoms* " *on the export and import from one province to* " *another, which produces an eſtrangement, and* " *even enmity, between different parts of France,* " *the inequality of meaſures in the ſeveral towns,* " *and a thouſand other diſtempers of the body* " *politick, ſtill ſubſiſted. The greateſt fault ob-* " *jected to this miniſter is, that he did not dare* " *to encourage the exportation of corn. All the* " *other branches of adminiſtration being in a* " *flouriſhing condition, prevented Colbert from* " *remedying the fault in that which was moſt* " *important.*

Exportation of corn.

" *important. . . . . This fault, which has been*
" *perceived by all men of abilities in the nation,*
" *has not been repaired by any miniſter in the*
" *courſe of a whole century, till the memorable*
" *epocha of* 1764." (Ch. 30.)

Queſtions on that ſubject.

Why has that epocha of the liberty to export grain been hitherto productive of no good effect? Why has the people ſuffered ſo much? Why has the exportation been ſince prohibited? Muſt it be attributed to bad crops, puniſhable artifices, or ſome imperfection in the law? Theſe are points which it is not my province to decide. But fact demonſtrates, that the fineſt ſpeculations do not ſecure ſucceſs, unleſs every contingency has been foreſeen, and a remedy provided beforehand for every poſſible inconvenience. It is important to reaſon well, but ſtill more to act well.

Publick works.

With a good adminiſtration, Louis XIV. ſaw himſelf immediately in a condition both to imprint reſpect on foreign nations, and bring every thing to perfection in his own kingdom. He not only embelliſhed the capital, which was magnificently paved and lighted, but provided for the ſecurity of the inhabitants by a police, of which there was no example in any other country. The appearance of the provinces was changed by the conſtruction of highways and uſeful works. In 1664 was begun the canal of Languedock, which joins the two ſeas, though ſeparated by a chain of mountains. How glorious it is thus to conquer nature, and force it to contribute to the happineſs of a nation!

A more important object than all the reſt was the adminiſtration of juſtice. There was a council eſtabliſhed in 1666 for the reformation of the laws. In 1667 appeared the civil ordinance. The code of the waters and foreſts, the criminal ordinance, &c. followed in ſucceſſion. Duels, which were ſeverely prohibited, became leſs frequent every day. A number of pernicious abuſes were rectified. If many others ſtill remained, the reaſon was, that a Gothick ſyſtem of legiſlation, in a manner the child of chance, accidents, and ancient barbariſm, almoſt void of rational uniform principles, ought rather to have been entirely new moulded (had ſuch a thing been poſſible) than corrected in ſome particular points. No human work requires ſo great genius, knowledge, experience, and prudence. Even the laws of England ſtill abound with abuſes, which liberty has not been able to deſtroy. Legiſlation corrected, but imperfectly.

The views of the legiſlator were ſeconded by eſtabliſhments calculated to ſtrengthen the underſtanding, and, in progreſs of time, to eradicate all prejudices. He had founded the academy of belles lettres and inſcriptions in 1663. That of the ſciences was inſtituted in 1666. The royal ſociety of London had been eſtabliſhed ſix years before; and the taſte for the belles lettres did not permit the French to equal it in that age, though they had ſome reſpectable natural philoſophers and mathematicians. The penſions and gratifications beſtowed upon learned men, even of foreign nations, Academies. Recompenſes to the literati.

tions, already made the name of Louis be celebrated in the warmeſt ſtrains through all Europe.

Feſtivals at Verſailles.

His court was ſoon adorned by the muſes and arts. His ſplendid feſtivals united the charms of wit to every imaginable diſplay of magnificence; they drew together a prodigious concourſe of admirers, and the curious from every country defrayed part of their expenſe by the money which they circulated in the kingdom. At that of Verſailles, in 1664, firſt appeared the comedy of Tartuffe, the maſterpiece

Great poets.

of Moliere, which a cabal of devotees in vain ſtruggled to ſuppreſs. Racine and Boileau in a ſhort time diſplayed their talents. Genius was rouſed by every inciterment. But it muſt be allowed, that its juſt expreſſions of gratitude were ſometimes tarniſhed by adulation. Louis loved to be flattered with delicacy: That art was therefore cultivated too ſucceſsfully, and its fruits became poiſonous.

Louis being flattered, naturally committed faults.

Being admired or praiſed for all his enterprifes, actions, proceedings, and notions, the monarch could not keep a juſt medium: If he could, he would have been really worthy of thoſe high encomiums. Verſailles abſorbed his riches; and afterwards the paſſion for glory and conqueſts drew him into ſtill more enormous expenſes. Colbert himſelf could not ſupply them, without departing from thoſe principles of adminiſtration which form the baſis of the publick weal.

EPOCHA

EPOCHA OF LOUIS XIV.

BOOK II.

[From the War in 1667 to that of 1688, after the League of Augſburg.]

CHAP. I.

Conqueſt of FLANDERS *and* FRANCHE COMTÉ.—*Triple Alliance.*—*Peace of* AIX LA CHAPELLE.—*Siege of* CANDIA *by the* TURKS.

Philip IV. had governed Spain ill.

PHILIP IV. king of Spain, had departed this life in 1665; a prince who, though endowed with abilities and virtues, ſeemed to haſten the ruin of the monarchy, becauſe, addicted to pleaſure, and averſe from every kind of buſineſs; governed by his miniſters or flatterers; neither doing nor ſeeing any thing by himſelf; lulling his ſubjects into a deadly lethargy, inſtead of rouſing their courage and genius; and remedying none of the faults of government, he made them almoſt incurable, and increaſed their number. Don Louis de Haro, an eſtimable miniſter and favourite, dying in 1661, no man had been found worthy to fill his place.

Beginnings of the reign of Charles II.

Charles II. a prince only four years of age, and of a weakly conſtitution, ſucceeded to the throne of his father. The queen regent, Mary Anne of Auſtria, perſecuted don John, natural ſon of the late king, who was the only perſon capable of governing, and blindly followed the prejudices of father Nitard, a German Jeſuit, whom ſhe put at the head of the council, after making him grand inquiſitor. The arrogance of that Jeſuit is univerſally known by his reply to a grandee, who ſpoke to him in the ſtyle of a ſuperiour—*It is you who ought to pay reſpect to me, for I have every day your God in my hands, and your queen at my feet.* How important is it for princes not to confound the ſecrets of their conſcience with the affairs of ſtate! Under ſuch a miniſter, every thing inevitably grew worſe; and we ſhall ſee that the enemy took advantage of it.

Father Nitard maſter of the government.

Though, by the treaty of the Pyrenées, the queen of France, daughter of Philip IV. had abſolutely renounced all her rights to the whole or any part of her father's dominions, and that renunciation had been renewed by her contract of marriage; yet Louis formed the deſign of reviving ſome of thoſe rights, and ſecuring a portion of that vaſt ſucceſſion. The court of Verſailles aſſerted, that Brabant ought to return to Maria Thereſa, as eldeſt daughter of the firſt bed, in virtue of a law of inheritance eſtabliſhed in the Low Countries, by which the children of the firſt bed excluded thoſe of the ſecond, males or females indifferently. This regulation was obſerved in private ſucceſſions: But did it com-

Pretenſions of Louis XIV. on Brabant.

prehend

prehend princes? Did it ſubſiſt after a ſolemn renunciation? Theſe were important points of litigation, which arms alone could decide.

Writings on both ſides.

The civilians and theologians, who were conſulted by the two courts, did not fail to take oppoſite ſides on this queſtion. Papers were circulated by both parties, to prove the juſtice of their cauſe. One of thoſe, publiſhed by the court of France, contains the following remarkable words—*Let it not be ſaid that the ſovereign is not ſubject to the laws of his ſtate; for the contrary propoſition is a truth of the law of nature; which, though flattery has ſometimes attacked, good princes have always defended as a tutelar divinity of their dominions.* (Defence de Droits de la Reine.) Happy the monarchy where the prince really obeys the laws, and rules only by them!

Maxim on the ſovereign authority.

Louis too much inclined to war.

But it was a great misfortune to Europe, and even to France, that Louis, too much elated by his power, had not the moderation proper to regulate the exerciſe of it; and that his ambition for conqueſts and trophies prevented him from foreſeeing the ſtorms which his ſucceſſes would infallibly draw upon his kingdom. Mazarin had filled him with flattering ideas of future grandeur. The marquis de Louvois, his miniſter for the war department, eagerly longed to ſignalize himſelf by enterpriſes favourable to his own ambition; and the intereſt of the miniſter being conformable to the inclinations and prejudices of the prince, it is eaſy to gueſs the iſſue of that affair.

All

Secret treaty for the partition of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion.

All the king of Spain's brothers being dead, the inheritance of his crown appeared a future ſubject of diſpute; and politicks are not very ſcrupulous. M. Voltaire mentions a ſecret treaty, now depoſited in the Louvre, by which the courts of France and Vienna already agreed upon a partition. The emperour Leopold conſented that Louis ſhould take poſſeſſion of the Netherlands, on condition that Spain ſhould revert to him after the death of Charles II. He took extraordinary precautions that no perſon ſhould come to the knowledge of this treaty; the inſtrument of which, without any copy being taken, was locked up in a metal caſket, and to be put into the hands of the grand duke of Tuſcany. Such ſecrets are diſcovered ſooner or later.

1667. Conqueſts in Flanders.

Excellent and well diſciplined troops, immenſe preparations, magazines on the frontiers, two miniſters of great abilities, and ſpurred on by emulation, a Turenne for general; with all theſe advantages, Louis marched out to certain conqueſt. He took Charleroi, Ath, Tournay, Furnes, Armentieres, Courtrai, and Douai, almoſt the moment he appeared before their gates. Lille, though ſtrongly fortified, and garriſoned by ſix thouſand men, held out only nine days. Louvois adviſing theſe places to be garriſoned, they were fortified by the celebrated Vauban, whoſe new method of conſtructing low works ſurpaſſed every thing which the powers of genius had invented.

Scarcely

1668. Conqueſt of Franche Comté.

Scarcely had the king recruited himſelf from the fatigues of that campaign, when he ſet out, in the middle of winter, to conquer Franche Comté; a province dependent on the government of Flanders, or rather a kind of republick under the Spaniſh dominion, and which was attached to its ſovereigns, becauſe they ruled with mildneſs, and did not encroach on its privileges. The plan of the expedition had been propoſed by Condé, governour of Burgundy; and Louvois, jealous of Turenne, embraced it with ardour. Some ſecret methods were taken to accelerate the ſucceſs of the French arms: Traitors were found; and where are they not to be found for money? Condé at once made himſelf maſter of Beſançon and Salins. The king forced Dole to ſurrender in four days. In three weeks of the month of February, the whole province was conquered. Beſançon, formerly an imperial city, had been ceded to Spain, in 1652, in lieu of Frankendahl.

Behaviour of the king at the army.

In this double conqueſt, Louis ſhewed a courage, tempered with prudence, ſuch as the conjunctures required. His preſence ſufficiently animated the ſoldiers. The uniforms which he firſt introduced among the troops, were an uſeful diſtinction for the regiments. Rewards, judiciouſly beſtowed, inſpired the keeneſt emulation: But the monarch brought into the armies his pomp and luxury; a dangerous example in future, as the generals would doubtleſs imitate him, the inferiour officers, in a greater or leſs degree, copy the generals, and ſo

Too much luxury.

ſo of the reſt. What a multitude of inconveniences reſulted from this practice!

Spain acknowledges the independence of Portugal.

The court of Madrid, which ſo ſhamefully loſt her provinces under the adminiſtration of a Jeſuit, found herſelf obliged, at laſt, to acknowledge the independence of Portugal, and put an end to a war of twenty ſix years, equally humbling to Spain as that of the United Provinces. The Portugueſe had, a little before, dethroned Alphonſo VI. a furious tyrant without the leaſt glimmering of underſtanding; and his brother, don Pedro, was put in his place, though only with the title of regent. He eſpouſed the queen, whoſe firſt marriage was declared null, under pretence of impotency in the king; and that union was authorized by the pope. In other times, that affair would have been attended with more difficulty. Alphonſo, who was declared impotent, had a baſtard.

Alphonſo VI. (the Impotent) dethroned.

Triple alliance to ſtop the progreſs of Louis.

Mean time other nations were alarmed with the ſucceſſes of France. England, above all, dreaded the conſequences; and Holland trembled, leſt ſhe ſhould have no longer a frontier. Thoſe two powers, when ſcarcely reconciled, united by a treaty, which was almoſt inſtantaneouſly brought to a concluſion. Sir William Temple, ambaſſadour at the Hague, and the grand penſionary de Wit, were men above the chicanery and artifices of vulgar politicians. They proceeded in the ſtraight path, to the ſecurity of the common good. The triple alliance (for Sweden acceded to the treaty) was formed

formed to oblige Louis to make peace with Spain, and again renounce the rights of the queen, in conſideration of keeping part of his conqueſts. De Wit ventured to make this treaty be ſigned by the ſtates general, without waiting for the conſent of the provinces and cities. This was a caſe when the ſlow procedures of the government might have been fatal.—*We will talk of it in ſix weeks*, ſaid the French ambaſſadour, ſpeaking of the projected alliance; ſo much did he reckon on the means of breaking it off, before the ordinary formalities were gone through.

Bold ſtep of de Wit.

The haughty conqueror ſtopped ſhort. He propoſed peace, and diſſembled his vexation. He ſaw a burgomaſter of Amſterdam, Van Beuning, an inflexible republican, in a manner, beard his imperious haughtineſs, and negotiate with his miniſters without fear and without complaiſance.—*Do you not rely on the king's word*, ſaid they, one day to that Dutchman? *I do not know what the king will do*, replied he; *I conſider what he can do*. In a word, Van Beuning dictated the terms. The treaty was ſigned at Aix la Chapelle; and Louis kept Flanders, reſtored Franche Comté, confirmed the treaty of the Pyrenées, but ſtill retained his reſentment.

Van Beuning mortifies the king's pride.

Treaty of Aix la Chapelle.

Spain, though freed from ſo dangerous a war, was not yet at quiet. The regent, or rather her favourite, Nitard, maltreated the man with whom it was, above all others, neceſſary to keep fair. Don John of Auſtria, puſhed to extremity, revolted, ſtirred up Arragon

F. Nitard diſguſts don John of Auſtria.

ragon and Catalonia, and forced the queen to part with the Jeſuit: She, therefore, ſent him in quality of ambaſſadour to Rome, where he obtained the purple; and the government was ſhared between the regent and the prince. The pride and incapacity of the confeſſor had turned the monarchy upſide down; an important leſſon, though little regarded.

That Jeſuit loſes his place.

At the ſame time, the Spaniards were afflicted with a dreadful ſcourge in America. A body of pirates, lawleſs, diſſolute, and irreligious, who thought life nothing when put in the balance with freedom, equally intrepid and cruel, known by the name of *buccaneers*, a mixture of Engliſh and French, had ſeized upon the iſle of Tortuga, near St. Domingo. Though only furniſhed with canoes, they took large veſſels. Nothing could reſiſt their deſperate impetuoſity. The mortal hatred which they had ſworn againſt the Spaniards, made them exert more than human efforts to do them an injury.

Buccaneers formidable to Spain.

Six hundred, or at moſt, a thouſand buccaneers, under the conduct of an Engliſhman, named Morgan, ventured to attack Porto Bello, a ſtrong town, defended by a good garriſon, and which contained immenſe riches. They ſcaled and took the citadel. The town ranſomed itſelf for about a million of piaſtres (1669). Their boldneſs ſtill increaſed, and heroick actions are recounted of them; but having neither rule, prudence, nor government, and giving themſelves up to every imaginable exceſs,

Their enterpriſe againſt Porto Bello.

ceſs, it at laſt became neceſſary that they ſhould be diſſipated, when Spain rouſed from her ſhameful lethargy.

Proſperity of France.

After the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, France continued equally to increaſe in ſtrength and ſplendour. Her commerce grew with her navy: Colbert and Louvois laboured with emulation for the glory of the monarch; and that kingdom became an object of admiration, as well as jealouſy to foreigners.

A king of Poland comes to be an abbot in it.

John Caſimir, king of Poland, having abdicated his crown, from a taſte for repoſe, choſe it for his place of reſidence; and was preſented with the rich abbey of St. Germaine, which was ſufficient to have made twenty Frenchmen happy. He had been a Jeſuit and cardinal. He had no reliſh but for the ſweets of ſociety, of which Paris was the centre, where pleaſure and urbanity had fixed their throne.

1669. Succours ſent to Candia.

Louis XIV. ſet another glorious example to the chriſtian princes, which was not imitated. The Turks beſieging Candia, (ancient Crete) one of the principal poſſeſſions of Venice, to which ſome ſuccours where ſent by pope Clement IX. and the order of Malta, but too weak to oppoſe ſo great an empire, ſeven thouſand French were diſpatched, under the command of the duke de Beaufort, to fight againſt the infidels. The duke de Rouanois, afterwards mareſchal de la Feuillade, had already conducted thither, at his own expenſe, a troop of more than two hundred gentlemen: The heroick ſpirit of the cruſades ſeemed to be revived, for an object worthy of rouſing its activity. But

that

that assistance came too late, or was not sufficient. The other nations remaining inactive, it only retarded the taking of Candia, which was reduced to extremity. The duke de Beaufort fell in that expedition. The town capitulated after a siege of three years. Francis Morosini, afterwards doge of Venice, captain general of the fleet, immortalized his name in the war; and Montbrun, a Frenchman, who commanded the army of the republick, shared the glory of the Venetian. The grand vizir, Cuprogli, a man of distinguished abilities, used parallels in the trenches, which were invented by an Italian engineer. The Turks, on that occasion, set the first example of a method, which has since been generally adopted as of the greatest utility.

CHAP. II.

WAR *against* HOLLAND *for insufficient Reasons.* —LOUIS XIV. *reduced to Extremities in* 1662. —*Commotions in* EUROPE *against him.*—*He soon loses his Conquests.*

Louis desirous of being revenged on the Dutch.

LOUIS XIV. was irritated against that triple alliance, which had stopped him short in the career of his rapid conquests, and could not forgive Holland. After having generously succoured them, both against England and the bishop of Munster, Bernard Gallen, a warlike and enterprising prelate, he looked on their

their political endeavours to curb his ambition, as criminal and injurious. In a word, he thirſted for revenge and conqueſt.

His meaſures.

Being reſolved to ſubdue Holland, he took every meaſure that would have been requiſite for the boldeſt enterprize. Alliances, warlike preparations, profound ſecreſy, and vigorous activity, all contributed to inſure him ſucceſs.

Critical ſituation of the king of England.

The moſt important point was to gain the king of England; and it was effected. Charles II. had but little authority. The Engliſh, in general, were diſcontented; and their turbulence was fomented by religious animoſities, which were ſtill very violent. On one ſide, the preſbyterians, haraſſed by the laws, murmured at a perſecution which that prince did not approve: On the other, the churchmen were enraged at his deſiring to procure a toleration for the catholicks; and his brother, the duke of York, having embraced the Romiſh faith, the ſects united to attack popery. Being void of economy, the wants of the crown perpetually returned: The parliament was ſparing in its grants, in order to keep him under the rein. The more Charles was curbed, the more fondneſs did he contract for abſolute authority. His council was compoſed of five new miniſters, who were nicknamed the *cabal*, and who gained his confidence by entering into his paſſions. The project of uniting with France, which would furniſh him with powerful ſuccours, and afterwards reigning with arbitrary power, was probably hatched by that council; a ſcheme entirely

The cabal, a new miniſtry.

entirely conformable to the genius of the duke of York, who had great influence over the king.

1670. Louis engages Charles II. in a league.

Such were the diſpoſitions of the court of London, when Louis XIV. made preparations for entering into a negotiation with it, which was carried on in a very ſingular manner. Madame, wife to the duke of Orleans, ſiſter to Charles II. a princeſs of great wit and beauty, was pitched upon to manage the treaty; and, in order to avoid ſuſpicion, the king made a pompous tour to Dunkirk, and through his conqueſts in Flanders, accompanied by the queen and all the princeſſes. Madame thus having a plauſible pretence for paying a viſit to her brother, paſſed the ſtrait, and was met by Charles at Canterbury. The ſecret of ſtate was concealed under the veil of feſtivals and pleaſures, and a treaty concluded againſt Holland. At her return the young princeſs died; but this produced no change of meaſures. She had left with Charles a lady of her train, whom he continued to love till his death, and created dutcheſs of Portſmouth. This was an additional tie to captivate that voluptuous and imprudent prince. To what will not politicks have recourſe!

The emperour of Germany and Sweden abandon Holland.

The emperour Leopold had alienated the affections of the Hungarians, by violating their privileges, and raiſing a religious perſecution; two faults which ſeemed hereditary in the houſe of Auſtria, notwithſtanding experience had ſo often demonſtrated their fatal effects. Under colour

colour of a conſpiracy, real or pretended, he had ſeized all the ſtrong places in Hungary. Thus, being taken up with his own affairs, and, beſides, entertaining an averſion againſt the Hollanders, he acceded to the views of France. All the German princes were ſecured, except the elector of Brandenburg. Sweden was once more gained over. No dread was entertained of Spain; and Louis thought himſelf ſecure of conquering a defenceleſs republick.

Pretexts for the war.

As there was no ſolid reaſon for attacking it, recourſe was had to complaints and pretences. A medal, in which Holland boaſted of having *ſecured the laws, purified religion, ſuccoured, defended, and reconciled the monarchs, aſſerted the freedom of the ſeas, and eſtabliſhed the tranquillity of Europe*; this proud medal, ſuch as has been ſtruck in every country, perhaps on leſs foundation, was one of the principal grievances; as if it had been the cauſe of uſurpations on crowned heads. The die was broken by the Dutch; but Louis and Charles had taken their reſolution, and war was declared.

Two parties in the republick.

Unluckily for the republick, it was divided by two factions. John de Wit, and his brother Cornelius, rigid adherents to liberty, had cauſed the young prince, William III. to be formally excluded from the ſtadtholderſhip, which had been aboliſhed in 1650, after the death of his father, William II. A proof that theſe illuſtrious citizens acted from patriotick ſentiments, is, that the penſionary had procured for the prince the beſt education, in order to render him capable of ſerving the ſtate in every department:

department: He had therefore expoſed himſelf to the danger of one day becoming his victim, if William, who poſſeſſed a great ſhare of merit, gave himſelf up to the guidance of ambition or revenge, rather than zeal for the intereſts of the republick. That prince, at the age of twenty one, joined to his noble qualities, a keen and deliberate ambition. He aſpired to the dignity of his anceſtors, had a numerous party, and the diſcord at home increaſed the dangers from abroad.

De Wit had neglected the land forces.

John de Wit is blamed for neglecting the land forces, and beſtowing his whole care on the marine. It is certain that Holland was as weak on one ſide as ſhe was formidable on the other. The ſea ſeemed to be his element. The grand penſionary, not foreſeeing a ſudden invaſion, which was ſo improbable, had turned his whole attention upon objects of the greateſt importance to his republick. But too great ſecurity, ſooner or later, becomes fatal. The ſafety of ſtates depends upon foreſeeing all poſſible dangers, and guarding againſt every event.

1672. Paſſage of the Rhine.

Louis marched at the head of all his forces, accompanied by his moſt renowned generals, againſt that little ſtate, which could oppoſe him only with a few bad mercenary troops. He paſſed the Rhine, almoſt without danger, on the twelfth of June. The river was low, and the cavalry had but a little way to ſwim; while the cannon played furiouſly on the oppoſite bank. Two regiments, by which it was defended, quickly diſappeared; and the infantry paſſed undiſturbed, with the king, upon a bridge

bridge of boats. This brilliant action, which has been celebrated as a prodigy, was unqueſtionably bold and glorious; but fame and flattery gave it a luſtre, which is greatly leſſened by the impartiality of hiſtory.

Three provinces immediately conquered.

In leſs than three months the provinces of Utrecht, Overyſſel, and Gueldres, were conquered, together with above forty ſtrong places. Amſterdam beheld the enemy almoſt at her gates. Meantime Ruyter gained glory in a ſea fight againſt the combined fleets of England and France, near Solebay: The duke of York ſuffered ſo dreadful a fire, that he was conſtrained to change his ſhip. Though this engagement, which, like ſo many others, was indeciſive, ſupported the honour of the Dutch flag, yet the republick believed herſelf inevitably ruined. Some marauders appeared within a league of the capital; and the gates would have been opened, had the party been more numerous.

Battle of Solebay.

Holland on the brink of deſtruction.

According to M. Voltaire, whoſe words I here borrow, that I may loſe nothing of an intereſting narration—" *The richeſt families, and* " *thoſe which were moſt zealous for liberty,* " *prepared to flee into the fartheſt parts of the* " *world, and embark for Batavia. They took* " *a liſt of all the veſſels capable of making the* " *voyage, and made a calculation of the num-* " *bers they could embark. It was found that* " *fifty thouſand families could take refuge in* " *their new country. Holland would no more* " *have exiſted, but at the extremity of the Eaſt* " *Indies: Its provinces in Europe, which pur-*

" *chaſe their corn only with the riches of Aſia,*
" *which ſubſiſt ſolely by their commerce, and,*
" *if the expreſſion may be uſed, by their liber-*
" *ty, would have been almoſt at once ruined*
" *and depopulated. Amſterdam, the mart and*
" *magazine of Europe, where commerce and*
" *the arts are cultivated by two hundred thou-*
" *ſand men, would ſoon have become a vaſt*
" *moraſs. All the neighbouring lands require*
" *immenſe expenſes, and thouſands of hands,*
" *to keep up their dykes: In all probability,*
" *their inhabitants would have left them, with*
" *their riches, and they would have been at laſt*
" *ſunk under water; leaving to Louis XIV.*
" *only the miſerable glory of having deſtroyed*
" *the fineſt and moſt extraordinary monument*
" *ever erected by human induſtry.*" Yet this is what poets, orators, and perhaps hiſtorians, would have adorned with all the flowers of the moſt eloquent flattery!

She ſues for peace.

In this dreadful ſituation, John de Wit determined the ſtates general to ſue for peace, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the prince of Orange, who had been made general and admiral, without receiving any ſhare in the adminiſtration. Their deputies implored the clemency of the victor, but were received by Louvois with inſulting haughtineſs, and intoIntolerable conditions. erable conditions preſcribed. They were required to give up all their poſſeſſions beyond the Rhine, and ſome ſtrong places in the heart of the republick; to reſtore the Romiſh religion, and every year ſend an embaſſy extraordinary, acknowledging that they held their liberty of the

the king, &c. Louis, intoxicated by his victories, did not reflect on the inconſtancy of fortune, which might one day humble him before thoſe whom he had now oppreſſed. What treatment will he then meet with?

Deſpair. On the return of the deputies, and news of the conditions, the terrour of the people was changed into deſpair, and deſpair revived the republican courage. The populace, tranſported with fury, forgetting the ſervices of the de Wits, and charging them as being the authors of the preſent calamities, murdered and tore them in pieces with that horrible rage, of which ſome example is to be found in every country. But the magiſtrates exerted themſelves for the publick good, with the zeal and intrepidity of patriotick virtue. The young prince of Orange being at laſt created ſtadtholder, became the principal ſupport of the ſtate.—*I have a ſure method*, ſaid he, *to prevent my ever being witneſs to the ruin of my country; I will die in the laſt intrenchment.*

Maſſacre of the de Wits.

William ſtadtholder.

The dykes bored to lay the country under water. In order to remove the enemy, the Dutch expoſed themſelves to the danger of drowning, and bored the dykes that kept out the ſea. Amſterdam and the other towns were ſurrounded with the waters that overflowed the adjacent country. The love of liberty, and hatred of oppreſſion, enabled them to endure all the calamities attendant on ſuch a ſituation, while William animated the people, and aſſured them of ſpeedy aſſiſtance from the other powers of Europe, whom he ſolicited, not without ſucceſs.

Europe roused in favour of Holland.

In fact, Europe could not but open her eyes on the haughty ambition of Louis XIV. Every state saw itself threatened with the same enterprises which had made the Austrian power an object of terrour and hatred. England was filled with indignation at the pernicious system pursued by her king, Charles II. The elector of Brandenburg openly declared himself, promised the Dutch a body of twenty thousand men, and engaged the emperour Leopold to furnish them with twenty four thousand. Denmark, with almost all Germany, entered into this league; and Spain in a short time followed their example.

Faults committed by the conqueror, who follows injudicious counsel.

Had the conqueror fallen upon the capital while its inhabitants were overwhelmed with terrour; if, instead of following the advice of his minister Louvois, and dispersing the troops in the conquered towns, he had demolished the fortifications, as was proposed by Condé and Turenne, who said, that armies were more proper than garrisons for subjecting a country; in a word, if he had not allowed Holland time to breathe, and the stadtholder to act, that expedition would have been less fruitless. The best concerted projects are often ruined by an errour in politicks, or in the management of a war; and therefore the faults that have been committed furnish some of the most instructive lessons of history.

1673. He begins to lose his advantages.

The storm which was gathering did not prevent Louis XIV. from taking the town of Maestricht, the siege of which he carried on in person. This important place opened to him a communication

communication with his conqueſts. But the general Montecuculi, who had been long ſtopped on the banks of the Rhine by Turenne, at laſt joined the Dutch. The prince of Orange took Bonn, having formed his troops by the moſt rigorous diſcipline. On the other ſide, Louvois, an unfeeling miniſter, cauſed a good officer to be ignominiouſly degraded, for having ſurrendered Naerden, after a combat of five hours. Naerden was the firſt place that Louis loſt. But was it imagined, that the others would be preſerved by an unjuſt example of ſeverity? and that the French would become invincible through the dread of ſhame, rather than ſentiments of honour? That officer continued to ſerve as a volunteer, and the following campaign met the death which he courted.

Unjuſt ſeverity of Louvois.

With ſo many enemies to oppoſe, it was impoſſible to keep the three conquered provinces: They were therefore put to ranſom, and evacuated. What ſentiments muſt then have been inſpired by the monuments erected in honour of the conqueſt; among others, the triumphal arch of the gate of St. Denis! Louis began to feel by experience the deceitfulneſs of ambition. Ruyter had fought three battles at ſea in the month of June 1673, when he had the glory of oppoſing the combined fleets of England and France without being vanquiſhed; and Holland ſhewed herſelf as formidable on the ocean, as if ſhe had ſuſtained no loſſes elſewhere.

The conqueſts evacuated.

At laſt the Engliſh, whoſe political ſyſtem was irreconcilable with the meaſures adopted by

The Engliſh give Charles II. uneaſineſs.

by the court, filled with indignation at being made the inſtruments of promoting the dangerous projects formed by Louis XIV. gave Charles ſo much uneaſineſs, that peace became abſolutely neceſſary. The parliament remonſtrated againſt an ancient indulgence, which ſuſpended the penal laws regarding religion; and the king broke the ſeal of that proclamation with his own hand. Beſides this, he was obliged to conſent to the famous *teſt* oath, by which the catholick doctrine of tranſubſtantiation was formally condemned. All who held any office in the ſtate being obliged to take this oath, the duke of York was conſtrained to reſign the poſt of high admiral. Charles, ſeeing the adminiſtration expoſed to the cenſures of parliament, and having no hopes of new ſubſidies, haſtily concluded a peace in 1674, Holland promiſing him a ſum of about three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. He alone profited by this war, which had been a heavy burden to the nation. He excuſed himſelf to Louis, preſerved his connexions with France, and even left ten thouſand men in her ſervice.

Teſt oath.

Charles makes peace with Holland.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Sequel of the WAR *with* HOLLAND, *now become almoſt general*—LOUIS XIV. *triumphant.*—*He dictates the Terms of Peace at* NIMEGUEN *in* 1678.

A WAR undertaken with ſo little reaſon, though begun with ſuch vigour and ſucceſs, might in the end prove fatal to France. In a ſhort time, ſhe was deſerted by all her allies except Sweden. The emperour, with a great part of the empire, Spain and Denmark, were her enemies, as well as Holland. Yet ſhe had great reſources in the authority of the king, the ſkill of her miniſters and generals, the ardour of the nation accuſtomed to victory, and in the riches which had been diffuſed through the whole kingdom by induſtry and commerce. Louis, therefore, was neceſſarily ſtill triumphant; but his triumphs were a kind of ſlow poiſon, which waſted the body politick.

1674. Almoſt all Europe in arms againſt Louis.

He went in perſon to make a conqueſt of Franche Comté, which the Spaniſh miniſter abandoned almoſt to itſelf. An attempt was made to ſend ſuccours, but too late; the Swiſs refuſing to grant a paſſage. Beſançon was taken after a ſiege which laſted only nine days, and the whole province was ſubdued in ſix weeks. The conqueror confirmed its privileges; but, notwithſtanding, could not efface the memory of a government more gentle than his own.

He ſeized Franche Comté.

During

Subjects of animosity in Germany.

During the very time that the negotiations were carrying on at Cologne, the emperour Leopold had caused count Furstenberg to be arrested in that city, as a favourer of Louis XIV. This violence, which was the more inexcusable, as the Germanick body had not yet declared itself, increased the animosity of the parties, and left no hopes of peace. The elector palatine, to whom France had done great services, entered into the league with the emperour against France; which was another motive for hatred and revenge. Consequently the operations of war were stained with cruelty.

Turenne lays waste the palatinate.

Turenne commanded an army of twenty thousand men on the Rhine. He performed all his great actions with few forces. At Sentzheim he beat the imperialists, commanded by the old duke of Lorraine, Charles IV. who had brought so many misfortunes upon himself by his unsteady conduct, and was then stripped of his dominions for a new act of infidelity. The conqueror fell upon the palatinate, through which he carried desolation, and reduced to ashes two cities, besides twenty five villages; for those barbarities were commanded by the ministers. It is related, that the elector, reduced to despair, having sent him a challenge, he replied, that—*From the time he had the honour to be general of the armies of France, he never fought but at the head of twenty thousand men.*

Bloody and useless battle of Senef.

Condé commanded forty five thousand in Flanders, against a much superiour number. He attacked the prince of Orange at Senef, near Mons, where he had three horses killed under him,

him. According to the report of the clergy of that neighbourhood, the field of battle was covered with twenty five thouſand dead bodies, though the victory remained undecided. That field ought to be the ſchool of princes who are infected with the madneſs of loving war.

Laſt campaigns of Turenne.

Should any perſon be inhuman enough to look without pity on the multitude of unknown victims, yet the loſs of a great man, ſuch as Turenne, which happened ſoon after, muſt move his regret. That general's two laſt campaigns are a prodigy of military ſkill, conſecrated to the defence of the ſtate. More than ſixty thouſand imperialiſts had paſſed the Rhine, while he had not above one third of that number; yet he ſaved Alſace and Lorraine, gained ſeveral victories, diſperſed the enemy, obliged them to repaſs into Germany; and all this by following the dictates of his own genius, in contradiction to the orders of the miniſtry.

1675. He is oppoſed by general Montecuculi.

He paſſed the Rhine in his turn, when he was oppoſed by Montecuculi, a general worthy of being his antagoniſt. During two months, they rivalled each other in admirable marches and encampments; foreſeeing each other's deſigns, never ſurpriſed, and always ſeizing the ſmalleſt advantage. Turenne was making diſpoſitions for a battle, and thought himſelf on the eve of a victory, when he was ſlain by a cannon ſhot near Saſbach. The ſame ball took off the arm of the marquis de St. Hilaire, who ſeeing his ſon melt into tears, ſaid to him—*It is not for me, but for that great man, you ought to weep:* An expreſſion worthy of a Regulus.

The

The French, commanded by the count de Lorges, made an honourable retreat, and reſiſted the efforts of Montecuculi. But the imperial general penetrated into Alſace, and did not repaſs the Rhine till the prince of Condé was ſent againſt him. This was the laſt campaign of the French prince and the Auſtrian general.

Campaigns of the mareſchal de Crequi.

The mareſchal de Crequi, having raſhly attacked a ſuperiour army, which was beſieging Treves, loſt the battle of Conſarbruck; but, inſtructed by experience and misfortune, he afterwards ſhewed himſelf as prudent as brave. Having thrown himſelf into Treves, accompanied only by three perſons, he reſolved to periſh rather than ſurrender. A cowardly and inſolent officer capitulated on the breach, and the mutinous garriſon endeavoured to extort the mareſchal's conſent; but he rather choſe to fall into the hands of the enemy. After his ranſom, he made two campaigns, (in 1677 and 1678) during which he ſeemed to be animated with the ſpirit of Turenne. The young duke of Lorraine, Charles V. nephew and heir of Charles IV. after having taken Philipſburgh, though at the head of ſixty thouſand men, could neither ſurpriſe him, force him to a battle, penetrate into Lorraine, nor hinder him from taking Friburg.

Confuſion in the events of the war.

If I traced the events of the war, and attempted to range them according to their dates, I ſhould only compoſe a barren and tireſome gazette. Thoſe accumulated facts, which efface the memory of each other, are to be found every where. I am afraid of giving too many of

of them, even when I confine myſelf to the moſt remarkable. Let us endeavour, at leaſt, to fix them in the mind by ſome inſtructive idea; for without ideas words are uſeleſs.

Revolt in Sicily againſt Spain.

While Spain made war in favour of her old enemies the Dutch, her government ſtill continued to be the worſt in Europe. Sicily, overwhelmed by the weight of deſpotiſm, revolted in 1674; and the example was ſet by Meſſina itſelf, which till then had continued faithful. Louis XIV. was proclaimed in that city, after a victory gained by his fleet. Charles II. who came of age in 1675, recalled don John of Auſtria, whom the queen regent perſecuted from the beginning; but ſoon after diſmiſſed him, and, by the queen's advice, gave himſelf up to the direction of Valenzuela, an intriguing poet of obſcure birth, who was already raiſed to the firſt offices of the court. This new miniſter gave feſtivals and plays, amuſed and corrupted the people, diſſipated the finances in pompous frivolities, and neglected the adminiſtration, with the firſt principles of which he was unacquainted. F. Nitard was not more unworthy of government.

Valenzuela a bad miniſter in Spain.

Ruyter and Duqueſne on the coaſt of Sicily.

The Spaniards were reduced to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of the Dutch, in order to defend or recover Sicily; upon which Ruyter ſailed into the Mediterranean with a fleet, where Duqueſne, his rival in glory, fought him twice. The ſecond engagement coſt the life of Ruyter, one of the greateſt men of his age, who, from the ſtation of a cabin boy, was become the hero and defender of his country. Duqueſne had likewiſe

likewiſe made his fortune ſolely by his merit. He again attacked the enemies, Dutch and Spaniards, when he gained the victory; and yet Meſſina was evacuated two years after, in 1678. Theſe aſtoniſhing exertions of naval force, joined to ſo many other ruinous expenſes, exhauſted Louis XIV. to ſuch a degree, that he could not carry on his enterpriſes. Beſides, the Spaniſh miniſtry was no longer the ſame. Charles II. had confined his mother in a convent; Valenzuela had been baniſhed to the Philippine iſlands; and don John was become prime miniſter.

Meſſina evacuated in 1678.

The great ſucceſs of France was in the Netherlands, on which ſhe turned the chief ſtrength of her arms. Louis loved a war carried on by ſieges, becauſe he could not fail of ſucceeding in them, with the aſſiſtance of a Louvois and Vauban, aided by ſo formidable and well provided armies. He took in perſon Condé, Bouchain, Valenciennes, Cambrai, Ghent, and Ipres. The taking of Valenciennes is diſtinguiſhed by a glorious action. Contrary to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom, Vauban propoſed to make the attack in open day; proved that the blood of the ſoldiers would be ſpared; the enemy more eaſily ſurpriſed, the cowards forced to behave well, and conſequently there would be leſs danger and greater advantage. This advice, which prevailed, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of five mareſchals, and Louvois himſelf, was juſtified by the event. The venturous courage of the muſqueteers, who rapidly darted from one work to another, yet conducting themſelves with caution,

Conqueſts of Louis in Flanders.

Taking of Valenciennes moſt remarkable

forced

forced the town to ſurrender, before the king knew that the outworks were carried. The numerous garriſon ſurrendered priſoners of war. In actions of this kind the French have no equals.

Louis, after his return from the brilliant campaign of 1677, ſaid to Deſpreaux and Racine, his hiſtoriographers—*I am ſorry you did not come to this laſt campaign; you would have ſeen war, and your journey would not have been long* (it was then the month of May). *Your majeſty*, replied Racine, *has not given us time to get our clothes made.* Theſe were delicate ſtrokes of flattery, and reliſhed by the conqueror. They intoxicated him with the fumes of vanity, and blinded him to future evils. Two great poets, whom he made choice of to write his hiſtory, would have made it a panegyrick, had they performed their taſk as their title and penſions required them; or they muſt have belied their own writings. Will it be believed, that Deſpreaux, after his epiſtle on the paſſage of the Rhine, could have given a juſt idea of the Dutch war? Deſpreaux and Racine flattering hiſtoriographers.

Notwithſtanding the abilities and courage of the prince of Orange, he ſtill felt the ſuperiority of the French arms. He had raiſed the ſiege of Maeſtricht in 1676. The ſaying of Calvo, an intrepid Catalan, who commanded in the place, deſerves to be repeated.—*I am entirely unacquainted with the art of defending a town*, ſaid he to his engineers; *all I know is, that I am reſolved not to ſurrender.* The following year William attempted to retrieve St. Omer, which The prince of Orange unſucceſsful in war.

was

was beſieged by the duke of Orleans; but loſt the battle of Caſſel, and the town was taken. The duke of Orleans had a horſe killed under him, and gave proofs of bravery which could ſcarcely be expected, conſidering the effeminacy of his manners. So powerful was the force of example and the impulſe to glory. The king, it is ſaid, grew jealous of him; at leaſt, he never after put his brother at the head of an army.

He is beaten at Caſſel by the duke of Orleans.

Loſſes of Sweden.

That prince was every where victorious, while his allies, the Swedes, loſt the principality of Verden, Pomerania, and almoſt every thing they poſſeſſed in Germany. The elector of Brandenburg and the king of Denmark ſtripped a power which had ſo long domineered in the empire. Meantime negotiations were carried on at Nimeguen; the enemy were divided by motives of private intereſt. France impoſed terms of peace, and it was neceſſary to accept them.

Negotiations at Nimeguen.

1678. Separate peace with Holland.

The Dutch ſeparated from the confederacy for their own advantage. The war had been kindled againſt them, and they had been brought to the verge of deſtruction in a ſingle campaign; but having found means to remove it from their own provinces ever ſince the year 1674, they acted only as auxiliaries. By a ſtrange revolution in affairs they loſt nothing. Maeſtricht was reſtored to them, the only town yet remaining to Louis XIV. of ſo many conqueſts.

Battle of Mons after the treaty.

Here the ambitious prince of Orange, who was too averſe from the peace, though he knew that it was concluded, or on the point of being

being concluded, ſignalized himſelf in an odious manner. He attacked the duke of Luxemburg near Mons with his whole forces. That worthy pupil of the great Condé was ſurpriſed, but not vanquiſhed; he even had the advantage. The peace had been ſigned four days before. What advantage then could the prince of Orange hope from a victory? and how could he waſh away the ſtain of that blood which he wantonly ſhed? Is mankind then the ſport of a few illuſtrious murderers?

Peace with Spain, which loſes a great deal.

When the Dutch, by ſeparating from their allies, as they did before, during the negotiations of Weſtphalia, had ſecured a peace on ſuch advantageous terms, Spain haſtened to conclude, without giving herſelf any trouble about the empire. She gave up Franche Comté, and almoſt all the conquered towns in the Netherlands, Valenciennes, Bouchain, Cambrai, Aire, St. Omer, Ipres, Menin, Caſſel, Maubeuge, Charlemont, &c. A new proof of the weakneſs of that vaſt monarchy.

Peace with the emperour, the elector of Brandenburg and Denmark.

Some time was ſtill required to come to an accommodation with the empire; becauſe France inſiſted upon full reſtitution being made to Sweden; to which the allied powers of the north refuſed to conſent. But the emperour ſeparated from them, and concluded his treaty on the fifth of February 1679, on terms exactly conformable to the peace of Munſter, except that France had Friburg inſtead of Philipſburgh. At laſt the elector of Brandenburg and Denmark concluded a peace in the courſe of the ſame year. Sweden loſt very little; yet her king,

king, Charles XI. was ſo highly provoked, that he always retained the keeneſt reſentment againſt Louis XIV. from whom he expected a more generous zeal for his intereſts.

Faults committed by France in the treatment of Sweden her ally.

According to the abbé Mably, France committed great faults in her manner of treating the intereſts of Sweden.—"*Firſt, ſhe ought not to* "*have made her peace with the emperour, with-* "*out concluding that of her ally; becauſe the* "*principal intereſt of a prevailing power, which* "*has carried on a war with ſucceſs, is to make* "*her alliance reſpected, ſought after, and loved.* "*In the ſecond place, having given law to her* "*enemies, ſhe ought rather to have renounced* "*her own advantages, than allow her ally to* "*be obliged to make the leaſt ceſſion; becauſe* "*no conqueſt is equal to the reputation of being* "*a generous and good friend.*" (Droit public de l'Europe.)

The duke of Lorraine remains voluntarily without dominions.

Louis engaged, by his treaty with Leopold, to reſtore the duke of Lorraine, but with a reſervation of Nanci and the highways. However, the duke choſe rather to remain without dominions, than agree to ſuch conditions. We ſhall ſee his ſon Leopold, father of the emperour Francis I. recover the poſſeſſion of Lorraine by the treaty of Ryſwick.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

During the Peace, LOUIS XIV. *draws upon himself the Hatred of the Potentates.*—VIENNA *beſieged by the* TURKS.—GENOA *bombarded and reduced.*—*Death of* COLBERT.—*Reflections on his Adminiſtration.*

1680. Louis does not make a prudent uſe of his good fortune.

LOUIS XIV. having defeated thoſe enemies whom he had drawn upon himſelf; having given peace to Europe upon his own terms; being in poſſeſſion of Franche Comté, and having added a great part of Flanders to his dominions; decorated with the ſurname of Great, which had been beſtowed upon him by flattery, or the admiration of his countrymen, would have been truly wiſe, if he had employed his power with moderation, as a father to his people, and an equitable arbiter to foreign nations; but, intoxicated with ſucceſs and grandeur, he took ſome violent ſteps, by which he rendered himſelf odious, as they could not fail, ſooner or later, to prove a ſource of publick calamity. I dwell upon the faults of this ſo celebrated monarch, becauſe they afford ſome excellent inſtructions.

Chambers of Metz and Briſack.

Several territories, which had formerly been dependent on the three biſhopricks and Alſace, had been for a long time in the poſſeſſion of different German princes, and Louis wanted again to unite them to the crown of France. For that purpoſe two chambers were eſtabliſhed,

the one at Metz, the other at Briſack; and theſe tribunals having given a decree for the reunion, the king by this means did himſelf juſtice. The parliament of Beſançon reunited Montbeliard as a fief of Franche Comté.

Straſburg ſubjected.

An attempt ſtill bolder was executed the following year. Straſburg, a very powerful city, whoſe bridge over the Rhine opened a paſſage into the kingdom, was ſtill free, and Louis earneſtly deſired to have it ſubjected to France. While he employed money and threatenings to influence the magiſtrates, he cauſed twenty thouſand men to march into the neighbourhood, who ſoon determined the ſucceſs of the negotiation, and the treaty was immediately concluded: Straſburg capitulated, and preſerved its ancient privileges. Vauban, who had fortified a great many places, exhauſted all the powers of his genius upon this; and certainly every precaution was neceſſary to keep a courageous people in ſubjection, who were extremely jealous of their liberty.

The princes put themſelves in motion againſt France.

Theſe conqueſts, made in full peace, and the confiſcation of dominions belonging to different ſovereigns, could not fail to occaſion hatred, diſtruſt, and apprehenſions. The emperour, the king of Sweden, and ſome other princes, had already attempted to arm the Germanick body; and if the elector of Brandenburg, who had become more powerful by the recent acquiſition of Magdebourg, had not at that time ſupported the intereſts of France, the war would have been rekindled.

The

The affair of the reunion was to be examined at a congreſs held in Francfort, where the plenipotentiaries of Louis XIV. preſented a memorial in French. Great diſputes were raiſed on that language being uſed; on the title of excellence, which was refuſed by the electors to the miniſters of the princes of the empire; on the right of conferring ſeparately, which the princes diſputed with the electors; and theſe frivolous contentions, which were looked upon as matters of importance at that time, made the affair of the reunion be forgotten, the congreſs diſſolved, and the buſineſs put off till the meeting of the diet at Ratiſbon.

A congreſs, where they diſpute about trifles.

At this diet, which was held in the year 1682, it was propoſed to raiſe troops to ſupport the ancient treaties; and the Circles of the Upper Rhine, Suabia, and Franconia formed a league with the emperour at Luxemburg, to which the king of Sweden, the electors of Saxony and Bavaria, the dukes of Lunenburg, and the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, very ſoon acceded. Thus did Leopold ſet the whole empire againſt France; not, like his anceſtors, by abſolute authority, but by exaggerating the ſtrength and deſpotiſm of Louis: However, they durſt not yet take up arms, and the emperour was even threatened with loſing his hereditary dominions to the Turks.

A league formed by Leopold.

The court of Vienna having frequently attacked the privileges of the Hungarians, they again revolted; and the count de Teckeli, who was the chief of the rebels, had recourſe to the Turks, and put himſelf under their protection.

Rebellion of the Hungarians.

Teckeli brings in the Turks.

Mahomet IV. who was then on the throne, and had already taken Candia from the Venetians; the Ukraine, Podolia, Volhinia, and Kaminiek from Poland; raiſed an army of two hundred thouſand men againſt the houſe of Auſtria; nothing could ſtop the progreſs of the Muſſulmen, and Vienna was beſieged. It was in vain that Teckeli repreſented to them the imprudence of this undertaking, for they muſt either very ſoon yield up their conqueſt, or engage againſt all the powers in Europe.

1683. Siege of Vienna.

If Cuprogli, the grand vizir, had been ſtill alive, that capital muſt have fallen. The emperour fled to Paſſaw; the count de Stahrenberg, who was the governour of the city, had only a garriſon of ten thouſand men, and the want of troops was feebly ſupplied by the citizens and ſcholars; but the grand vizir Cara Muſtapha, effeminate, voluptuous, and ignorant, did not preſs the operations of the ſiege, nor give a general aſſault; being perhaps deſirous, as it was imagined, to reſerve to himſelf the treaſures which he ſuppoſed had been accumulated there by the emperours. John Sobieſki, king of Poland, arrived with his army, to which that of the empire was ſoon added; he attacked the entrenchments of the Turks, who, being ſeized with a panick, ſcarcely made any reſiſtance, and left all to the conquerors.

Saved by Sobieſki;

whom the emperour wants to ſubject to the ceremonial.

Can it be believed that Leopold, at his return to Vienna, wanted to cauſe that king of Poland who had juſt ſaved him, to ſubmit to the humiliating ceremonial preſcribed by his court? Sobieſki ſpiritedly refuſed, and it was an additional

tional triumph to him to be diſpenſed from that *etiquette*. At preſent the imperial court has different ideas of grandeur, and every thing feels the progreſs of reaſon.

Luxemburg bombarded by the French.

Before the irruption of the Turks into Auſtria, Louis XIV. cauſed Luxemburg to be blockaded: He pretended that Aloſt belonged to him by the treaty of Nimeguen, and ſupported his claims by arms. He ſuſpended hoſtilities for a year, that Spain might aſſiſt the emperour, who was then in great danger; but it was not over when they were renewed. The French made themſelves maſters of Courtrai and Dixmude, bombarded, and then took Luxemburg. As it was impoſſible to reſiſt, a negotiation was opened, and a truce of twenty years concluded. Spain gave up Luxemburg. The emperour abandoned Straſburg, the caſtle of Kehl, and a part of the reunion made by the chambers of Metz and Briſack, during the term of the truce. Being compelled by neceſſity, they watched an opportunity to free themſelves, and it was not long before one preſented.

Truce of twenty years.

The navy of Louis XIV.

The dreadful power of Louis XIV. diſplayed itſelf in every quarter; his navy increaſed prodigiouſly, and the ports of Dunkirk, Toulon, Breſt, and Rochefort, were much to be admired, both becauſe of their conſtruction and the naval force which they contained. Above one hundred ſhips of the line could carry diſmay over the globe; ſquadrons were employed againſt the African pirates; bomb ketches, which had been newly invented by a Frenchman, thundered againſt Algiers in 1681, and a ſecond time

in

Algiers bombarded.

in 1684. Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, humbled themſelves under this deſtructive ſcourge, and ſent to beg for mercy.

Genoa bombarded, without ſufficient cauſe.

Genoa was cruſhed and humbled in like manner with the corſairs, it having been imputed to them as a crime, that they had ſold powder to the pirates, and conſtructed ſome galleys for Spain. It ſuffered a bombardment, and part of its palaces was reduced to aſhes.

The doge at Verſailles. 1685.

The doge, and four of the principal ſenators, were obliged to go in perſon and implore the king's mercy. The anſwer of the doge, Imperiali, is univerſally known; when he was aſked by one of the miniſters, what he thought moſt extraordinary at Verſailles? he replied—*To ſee myſelf here.* The civilities of that haughty monarch were but a ſlender conſolation for his ſeverities. According to the laws of Genoa, a doge forfeits his dignity when he leaves the city; but, upon this occaſion, they were obliged to derogate from this law.

Embaſſy from Siam.

An embaſſy which had been lately received from the king of Siam, ſeemed to add luſtre to the reign of Louis; but, however, it was in reality, nothing but the conſequence of an intrigue of an obſcure Greek, called Conſtantius, who was become the miniſter of that Indian deſpot, and expected to dethrone him. The ambaſſadours gave out, that their maſter was not far from embracing Chriſtianity, and propoſed to enter into a commercial treaty with the French, who had newly ſettled on the coaſt of Coromandel, whom he preferred to all the Europeans that were known in India. The king of

of France was too fond of every thing that encouraged his vanity, to let ſlip ſuch a flattering opportunity; he therefore ſent two ambaſſadours to Siam, one of whom was the celebrated abbé du Choiſi, accompanied by ſix jeſuits, who were afterwards followed by ſome troops. Conſtantius was put to death as a traitor; the French were either killed or driven out of the country by the people of Siam; which was all the fruit reaped from the expenſe occaſioned by this extraordinary embaſſy, from whence the miſſionaries expected the greateſt advantages.

Vain conduct of the king upon that ſubject.

In the year 1683 died M. Colbert—"*That ever memorable man,*" ſays the preſident Henault, "*whoſe cares were divided between economy and prodigality: From that regularity of diſpoſition by which he was characterized, he laid plans of frugality in his cloſet, to find funds which he was to laviſh in the eyes of all Europe, either for the glory of his maſter, or from the neceſſity of obeying him: He was a man of prudence, without thoſe faults to which genius is liable.*" The loſs of that miniſter was a very remarkable event. The king was indebted to him, in a great meaſure, for his proſperity, and without him the great works which were executed could not have been performed. Louis could not have triumphed over ſo many enemies, nor at the ſame time have erected ſuch a number of ſuperb monuments. What followed afterwards, ſhews how much every thing depends upon the proper adminiſtration of the finances; like

Great loſs by the death of Colbert, in 1683.

blood

blood to the human body, it gives life to the ſtate.

Immoderate expenſes had obliged him to have recourſe to pernicious expedients.

France was already ſenſible of the conſequence of a monarch having an immoderate paſſion for pomp, vain expenſes, ruinous pleaſures, and for war, which was ſtill more deſtructive. The ordinary revenues amounted to a hundred and ſeventeen millions, at twenty ſeven or twenty eight livres the mark. The war of 1672 obliged the miniſter to revive abuſes which he wiſhed to have aboliſhed, and to have recourſe to expedients that are always hurtful; in a word, four millions of extraordinaries, raiſed in ſix years, were the reſource of this great ſtateſman.

He was obliged to deviate from his own principles.

"*He found it impoſſible to adhere to the "meaſures his own judgment approved,*" ſays a celebrated hiſtorian, "*for it evidently appears, "by all his inſtructions which remain, that he "was perſuaded the true riches of a country "conſiſted in the number of inhabitants, the "culture of the lands, the induſtry of the peo-"ple, and the proſperous ſtate of commerce. "He ſaw that the king poſſeſſed very few "crown lands, and, being no more than the "ſteward of the people's wealth, could not be "truly rich, but by taxes eaſily collected and "equally proportioned.*" (Age of Louis XIV. c. 28.)

His ſituation very different from that of Sulli.

If theſe were the principles of Colbert, if he did not flatter the paſſions of his maſter, if he yielded only to the neceſſities of the preſent moment, what would a miniſter of inferiour abilities,

abilities, and leſs integrity, have done under ſuch a king as Louis XIV.—" *Sulli*," adds M. de Voltaire, " *enriched the ſtate by a pru-* " *dent economy, which was ſeconded by a fru-* " *gal valiant king, who at the head of his* " *army was a ſoldier, and, when living with his* " *people, a father. . . . . Colbert ſupported* " *the ſtate notwithſtanding the luxury of a ſove-* " *reign fond of expenſe, who laviſhed away his* " *whole revenue to give ſplendour to his govern-* " *ment.*" The different character of the two princes accounts for the difference of the adminiſtration.

Was his ſyſtem the beſt?

But it will always be a matter of aſtoniſhment, after having ſeen the example of Sulli, that Colbert could have given ſo much encouragement to promote the trading in luxuries and rich manufactures, and ſo little to agriculture, whoſe produce, though more ſlow, yet would have been more conſiderable, and of more ſolid advantage. His ſyſtem can never be preferred, when it is known that the ſilk manufacture has greatly diminiſhed the produce of the land. We cannot eaſily be perſuaded that Colbert had the good of the people ſo much at heart, as the deſire of pleaſing his ſovereign. Yet it is ſaid, that, at the cloſe of his life, he loſt the royal favour which had coſt him ſo much uneaſineſs, and for which he had made ſo many ſacrifices!

Theſe objects are eſſential to hiſtory.

Theſe reflections would be miſplaced, if they did not prepare the reader for the events which ought to follow. The purpoſe of ſtudying hiſtory can never be attained but by diſcovering the ſprings which ſet the affairs of the world

world in motion, and by learning to obſerve the effects in the cauſes. When the means were leſſened, the powers of Louis XIV. fell into decay, but he ſtill continued to preſerve a conſiderable ſuperiority: He will ſtill be ſeen imperious and enterpriſing, and very ſucceſsful, before he arrives at that period when he was depreſſed by adverſity. In the following chapter he will be ſeen contending with the court of Rome, and perſecuting the Calviniſts of France; a very curious ſubject, which had an influence on the ſyſtem of Europe, and is more uſeful than the uniform narration of wars and negotiations. Practical conſequences reſult from it, of as much importance to the happineſs of ſtates as to individuals.

Syſtem of Europe.

CHAP. V.

Diſputes with the JANSENISTS.—*Quarrels of* LOUIS XIV. *with* INNOCENT XI.—*Revocation of the Edict of* NANTZ.

Theological diſputes, without violent effects.

EVER ſince the time of the minority of Louis XIV. the diſputes with the Janſeniſts agitated France, without occaſioning thoſe violent commotions which the bigotry of ſects had produced in the days of fanaticiſm. Theologians, who diſagreed in opinion upon the abſtract ſubject of grace, contended with their pens, cenſuring one another with bitterneſs, giving vent to reciprocal hatred, and animating the well

well or ill meant zeal of an ignorant multitude : They adhered obſtinately to their opinions, ſome from prejudice, others from intereſt of party, a great many from religious ſentiments, and ſometimes embarraſſed the court, which did not know how to put an end to their contentions : But ſuch was the ſteadineſs of government, though too little acquainted with theſe delicate ſubjects, that it prevented the ferment from opening volcanoes in the kingdom.

Whether the five propoſitions were the doctrine of Janſenius.

As the Janſeniſts were afraid to break with the church of Rome, whoſe doctrines they maintained againſt the proteſtants, they thought proper to ſay, that the five propoſitions condemned by Innocent X. and Clement VII. were not in the work of Janſenius, and therefore the author ought not to be condemned. That ſubterfuge irritated the jeſuits and their adherents, who immediately exclaimed that the authority of the Holy See was inſulted by rebels. Inſtead of diſpelling all doubt, by ſimply pointing out the pages in which theſe propoſitions were contained, they would compel them to ſubmit ; and the aſſembly of the clergy, which met in 1661, commanded that a formulary ſhould be ſubſcribed, declaring that theſe propoſitions were actually in the work of Janſenius ; and the king went in perſon to parliament to change the formulary into a law of the kingdom. The nuns of Portroyal refuſing to ſubſcribe it, (and what ſignified their ſignature ?) they were baniſhed from the convent.

Formulary eſtabliſhed by the king.

Another formulary more ſtrong.

In 1665, Alexander VII. publiſhed a new formulary, ſtronger than that of the clergy, to condemn the propoſitions

in

in the author's own ſenſe; which all eccleſiaſticks, ſecular and regular, prelates as well as the reſt, and even nuns, were obliged to ſubſcribe; and the king again cauſed a declaration for that purpoſe to be regiſtered in his preſence.

Happily the times were changed.

Some ſour tempers fancied that they ſaw thoſe deplorable times returned in which the Greeks diſturbed the world by their ſubtilties; when parties were heated and conſciences alarmed by formularies; when the emperours, by commanding opinions, and treating untractable enthuſiaſts with cruelty, equally endangered the faith and the empire. Happily, the vivacity of the French found vent on other ſubjects; fanaticiſm had ſpent its force, the clergy were by no means ſeditious, and the all powerful monarch had nothing to apprehend but rumours, about which he gave himſelf very little trouble.

Oppoſitions.

Perſecution, however, always animates the perſecuted. Four courageous and inflexible biſhops obſtinately oppoſed the court; and

Arnaud againſt the Jeſuits.

doctor Arnaud, the brother of one of theſe biſhops, continued conſtantly to write, and railed againſt the morality of the jeſuits, who were looked upon as the authors of theſe diſturbances. A bankruptcy which they had made for four hundred and fifty thouſand ducats, at Seville, in 1640, afforded new colours for the hideous picture which for a long time had been given of that ſociety.

Peace of the church not ſincere.

Nine commiſſioners, who had been already named by Alexander VII. ſet out to try the four prelates who had rejected the formulary, and ſheltered themſelves under the diſtinction of

fact

fact and *right*, when nineteen other biſhops ſuddenly declared in their favour; upon which the court, being embarraſſed, became deſirous of an accommodation. The court of Rome immediately changed its tone, and Clement IX. (Roſpiglioſi) connived at the diſtinction of *right* and *fact*, deſiring only that they would ſign the formulary *ſincerely*, without requiring that it ſhould be done *purely and ſimply*; which gave great offence to the obſtinate. Hereupon all ſeemed to be pacified; ſeverities were at an end; the famous Arnaud was preſented to Louis, and the *peace of the church* was celebrated in 1669 by a medal.

The jeſuits had too great influence.

Could it be ſuppoſed, that a ſet of angry theologians, irreconcilable in their opinions, rivals in reputation and intereſt, looking upon one another as hereticks and corruptors, unhappily having it too much in their power to awaken diſcord by writings or cabals, would ſacrifice their hatred and prejudices for the ſake of peace? The jeſuits were become too powerful to let their enemies reſt in peace, eſpecially after having endured ſuch bitter reproaches as had been levelled againſt them. They governed the conſciences of the principal men in the kingdom, and had the art to ſecure themſelves in the midſt of a voluptuous court, where the auſterity of Janſeniſm was only proper to inſpire diſguſt.

Bourdaloue.

Some eminent men, particularly Bourdaloue, cleared their doctrine from the cenſures that were laid upon it, and the ſermons of that reſpectable orator were the beſt anſwer that could be given to the *Provincial Letters*: But at laſt

La Chaiſe.

Father

Father de la Chaiſe, who was the king's confeſſor from 1675 to 1709, acquired an almoſt abſolute power over the clergy, diſpoſed of the benefices, and by an artful uſe of his favour, made his ſociety all powerful.

The diſputes could not fail to continue.

By this means the contentions could not fail to continue, eſpecially as Louis, always involved either in the hurry of a court or of war, illiterate, and fancying that nothing was neceſſary but to give orders for the execution of whatever was ſuggeſted to him, was very far from adopting the beſt principles of government with regard to objects of this nature.

The affair of the regale.

His diſputes with the court of Rome about the regale and the franchiſes, ſerved at leaſt to ſave what we call *the liberties of the Gallican church* from oblivion. By the ancient privilege of the *regale*, the kings of France diſpoſed of the revenues of the vacant biſhopricks, and nominated to the benefices of the dioceſe. Some churches towards the Alps and the Pyrenées alleged, that they were exempt from this claim, though the edict of 1673 declared that it extended over the whole kingdom. All the biſhops ſubmitted, except thoſe of Alet and Pamiers, who were diſtinguiſhed by their virtues, and celebrated by their oppoſition to the formulary. The firſt died ſoon after, but the ſecond did not continue leſs inflexible.

Innocent XI. ſupports the refractory.

Innocent XI. (Odeſcalchi) who was elected pope in 1676, a man of virtue, but exceedingly bigotted, more bold and ſteady than was proper, as affairs were then ſituated, who neither loved Louis XIV. nor the jeſuits, declared in favour

favour of the adverſaries of the regale, though accuſed of Janſeniſm, and ſent briefs calculated to encourage them. A monk, whom the chapter of Pamiers had appointed grand vicar after the death of the biſhop, carried his inſolence to the greateſt height. Being condemned by the parliament of Toulouſe to be executed in effigy, and drawn upon a hurdle, he did not deſiſt from fulminating excommunications, annulling the decrees of the parliament, and the ſentences of the metropolitan.

Inſolence of a monk.

The clergy, as well as the nobles, were in general very ſubmiſſive; their zeal might be depended on, and it was of conſequence to have their ſupport. An extraordinary aſſembly being convoked for that purpoſe, they acknowledged the right of the regale over all the churches, and wrote a moſt reſpectful letter to the pope, in which the following maxim is to be found, though too ſeldom attended to—*It is better to ſacrifice ſome privileges, than to diſturb the publick peace.* While the clergy were attentive to their privileges, they conducted themſelves as if they made a conceſſion to the ſovereign.

Aſſembly of the clergy.

At this time appeared the four famous propoſitions of this aſſembly, in which it was eſtabliſhed, 1. That princes are not ſubject to eccleſiaſtical authority in temporals. 2. That a general council is ſuperiour to the pope, according to the unalterable decrees of the council of Conſtance. 3. That the rules and cuſtoms of the Gallican church ought to be ſupported. 4. That the ſentence of the pope is not infallible

Its four articles.

lible in matters of faith, till the approbation of the church has been obtained. In the year 1682, the king publiſhed an edict, by which he commanded theſe four articles to be regiſtered, and inculcated all over the kingdom.

The pope annuls the whole.

Innocent replied to the biſhops in that imperious ſtyle which the popes formerly employed, and ſupported with anathemas. He at firſt lamented in the words of the prophet—*The children of my mother have riſen up againſt me, and have made war upon me.* In the next place, he accuſed them of meanneſs, for not having contended for the rights and privileges of the church, like their predeceſſors. He repreſented the foundation of diſcipline and the hierarchy as overturned, even the faith attacked by the regale; which, according to him, appeared very plain, by the terms the king employed in aſſuming to himſelf the right of conferring benefices, not as a conceſſion of the church, but as a privilege of the crown. He accuſed them of having given up an unalienable right, after they had declared the regale to be a kind of ſervitude: Could they then place the churches under the yoke of ſecular power; they, whoſe duty it was to expoſe themſelves to ſlavery to preſerve its liberty? To conclude, by the authority which he had received from the Almighty, he cancelled and annulled whatever had been done by the aſſembly.

He reproaches the biſhops.

The liberties of the clergy meet with great obſtructions in the kingdom.

The time was ſtill diſtant when the bulls and briefs of the court of Rome on the ſubject of ancient claims were ſcarcely to affect popular credulity. So much were the principles of the early

early ages obſcured by old prejudices, that the doctrine eſtabliſhed by the clergy of France appeared quite new to a number of theologians. Many of the doctors of the Sorbonne rather choſe to be baniſhed, than ſubmit to the four articles. The theologians aſſembled forty five times to cenſure a propoſition, which reſerved the privilege of deciding in matters of opinion to the pontiff. After all, a great number of biſhops did not obtain their bulls, in future, till they diſavowed the authority of the council held in 1682; and thus the liberties of the Gallican church, which have been ſince ſo readily adopted by the other churches, found a number of obſtacles and contradictions in France.

The more vigour ſhewn by Louis XIV. the greater was the pope's obſtinacy in oppoſing him; and notwithſtanding the revocation of the edict of Nantz, which I ſhall ſoon have occaſion to mention, the quarrel daily increaſed.

The pope continues the diſpute.

So very far did the privileges of ambaſſadours extend at Rome, that not only their palaces, but the quarters in which they reſided, afforded an aſylum from the purſuits of juſtice. Innocent XI. wanted to reform this abuſe, to which all the crowned heads, except France, conſented; and the king was very little affected by the examples of the others, ſaying, that it was he that ſhould ſerve for an example. The pope, however, by a bull in 1687, aboliſhed the franchiſes of their quarters, with a threatening of excommunication againſt whoever ſhould attempt to ſupport them.

Louis could not prevent the aboli-tion of fran-chiſes at Rome.

Haughty behaviour of the ambaſſadour of France to Innocent XI.

This ſtep produced the effect which was naturally to be expected; and Louis, being provoked, gave vent to his reſentment. He ſent the marquis de Lavardin ambaſſadour to Rome, who made a publick entry, as if in triumph, accompanied by ſeven or eight hundred military men; and having taken poſſeſſion of his quarter, made them go their rounds, and ſet the ſovereign pontiff at defiance. Lavardin was excommunicated, and the French church of St. Louis, where he was received, laid under an interdict. Innocent revenged himſelf as he could, without being troubled about the fatal conſequences which his vengeance might draw upon him.

The danger to which the pope expoſed himſelf.

The people complained, that there were no leſs than thirty five vacant dioceſes in the kingdom; for the pope had for a long time refuſed his bulls to thoſe who were appointed by the king: Had he not reaſon then to dread that he would be deprived of the privilege of inſtituting biſhops, and receiving the annates? A right founded upon a continuation of ancient abuſes. While there were ſuch complaints againſt bulls, cenſures, and refuſals, contrary to the good both of church and ſtate, was there not room to apprehend, that all theſe difficulties would be ſuddenly terminated by ceaſing to acknowledge a foreign juriſdiction, and by reducing the primacy of the Holy See to what it was in ancient times? An appeal to a general council on the ſubject of the bull againſt the franchiſes—a propoſal made in full parliament to demand a national

national council, and to reſtore the vigour of the pragmatick of Charles VII.—the diſſatisfaction of the court, and likewiſe of the epiſcopate—might all together contribute to bring things to the greateſt extremity. France, with a patriarch, would very ſoon have been weaned from the court of Rome.

How the diſpute was terminated in 1693.

If Louis XIV. had been inclined to put that ſcheme in execution, he could not have been prevented; but if he was violent and overbearing with regard to temporals, he was equally reſerved on every thing which was connected with ſpirituals. He was ſatisfied with cauſing Avignon to be ſeized in 1688; and in 1693 the quarrel was brought to an end, by Innocent XII. giving bulls to the appointed biſhops, after each of them had teſtified by letter his ſorrow, and made a formal diſavowal of all that had been done againſt the pope's authority by that famous aſſembly.

Project to deſtroy Calviniſm.

To be at war with the pope, and at the ſame time deſirous of aboliſhing a ſect which was an enemy of the papacy, was a ſort of political and religious contradiction, which perfectly ſuited the haughty temper of the monarch. The clergy and the Jeſuits had for a long time flattered themſelves with the hopes of extirpating Calviniſm, which had been always tolerated, but was without any dangerous power, and as peaceable at this time as it had been turbulent before the taking of Rochelle. Even during the troubles of the Fronde, the Calviniſts continued in peace. Government might have permitted them to remain ſo; it profited by their induſtry

and ſervices; there was no room to apprehend any danger from them; and nothing could be eaſier than to reſtrain them within the bounds of their duty, ſince they were made ſenſible it was for their own advantage.

Miſſionaries followed by rigorous meaſures.

The court at firſt ſent ſome miſſionaries among them, and laviſhed money to make proſelytes; and, according to cuſtom, greatly exaggerated the good effects of theſe two methods. It was thought proper, after gaining ſome, to reſtrain the reſt; and that liberty which they enjoyed was gradually reſtricted: An alarming partiality was ſhewn on ſeveral occaſions. A declaration was publiſhed in 1681, for the admiſſion of children of ſeven years of age among the number of the converted; upon which ſome proteſtant families began to fly the kingdom, and this occaſioned ſeverities which rendered the evil more contagious. Some popular commotions followed, and two celebrated preachers, Chamier and Chomel, were broken alive upon the wheel; ſo that from that moment the idea of martyrdom kindled the flame of enthuſiaſm.

Severities after the death of Colbert.

Colbert, like a true ſtateſman, protected the Calviniſts, from a conviction that they were as uſeful as the other ſubjects, and that perſecution could produce nothing but miſchief; and, if we may uſe the expreſſion, by his death they were delivered up to the chancellor le Tellier, and his ſon the marquis de Louvois, two men whoſe chief maxim was, that every one ſhould bend or tremble at the name of the king. In 1684, they ſent troops into the diſtricts inhabited by proteſtants; and Louvois wrote—*That it was his*

his majeſty's pleaſure, that all who did not conform to his religion ſhould ſuffer the greateſt ſeverities. Such were the outrages committed in conſequence of this order, that the proteſtants always repreſented this new perſecution as a copy of thoſe which had been raiſed by the tyrants, who wanted to deſtroy chriſtianity in its earlieſt ages. It is dreadful for a king thus to draw upon himſelf the hatred of his people, when he could ſo eaſily conciliate their love and reſpect. How many curſes has that *dragooning* cauſed to be denounced upon the head of Louis XIV. and what a hideous picture did the celebrated Saurin draw of him, even in that pulpit where he preached the goſpel! *Dragooning.*

After theſe arbitrary proceedings, Louis revoked the edict of Nantz, which had been paſſed by Henry IV. in 1598, and confirmed by Louis XIII. Liberty of conſcience was aboliſhed; all the Huguenot churches were deſtroyed; declarations and decrees of council followed one another in rapid ſucceſſion to heighten their deſpair; an order was iſſued, even to take their children from them, and put them into the hands of catholick relations; the miniſters were baniſhed; and the reſt were prohibited, under the ſevereſt penalties, from leaving the kingdom. 1685. Revocation of the edict of Nantz.

They no longer looked upon their country but with deteſtation, and were hurried away by hatred and fanaticiſm. Notwithſtanding the threatenings, puniſhments, and every precaution to prevent them, above five hundred thouſand made their eſcape, carrying along with them Flight of the Huguenots a loſs to the kingdom.

them not only immenſe ſums of money, but likewiſe induſtry and manufactures, by which the kingdom was enriched. The people in the north of Germany, Holland, and England, received theſe uſeful fugitives with open arms: Their ſentiments againſt the king were heard all over Europe; and they who carried neither arts nor profeſſions among foreigners, carried with them a thirſt of vengeance and courage, which they had but too many opportunities of diſplaying in wars againſt their country. The loſs of people was, perhaps, of leſs detriment than the loſs of commerce; for a part of thoſe commodities which uſed to be purchaſed in France, was from that time manufactured in foreign countries by French refugees, whoſe induſtry care was taken to perpetuate.

Opinions upon this ſubject.

Theſe were the principal effects of the revocation of the edict of Nantz. It has been celebrated by a hundred panegyriſts as one of the moſt glorious actions of Louis XIV. but panegyriſts are not hiſtorians, and never ſee objects but in one light. They have ſuppoſed hereſy deſtroyed, but ſtill the number of Calviniſts is very conſiderable. On the other hand, experience has ſhewn, that queen Chriſtina thought juſtly, when, in a letter from Rome, ſhe ſaid—*I conſider France at preſent in the light of a diſeaſed perſon, whoſe legs and arms have been cut off to cure him of a diſorder which might have been entirely remedied by patience and gentleneſs.* Yet that princeſs blamed the four articles of the clergy, and maintained the infallibility of the pope: She cannot, therefore,

therefore, be ſuſpected of having judged rather as a philoſopher than a catholick.

Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, following the example of Louis, forbid his proteſtant ſubjects, under pain of death, to exerciſe their religion in publick. The Vaudois revolted, of whom three thouſand were killed, ten thouſand made priſoners, and the reſt eſcaped. It was not long before the duke recalled them, and thought himſelf happy at their return, by reſtoring to them their former privileges. Were theſe poor mountaineers to be compared to the merchants, mechanicks, officers, and learned men, irrecoverably loſt to France?

Similar ſeverities againſt the Vaudois.

About the ſame time, a blind zeal for religion paved the way for the cataſtrophe of the Stuarts in England, which was very ſoon followed by a general war againſt Louis XIV. We ought to pay our greateſt attention to England, when ſhe exhibits thoſe grand ſcenes in which all the energy of the national character is diſplayed.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

End of the Reign of CHARLES II. *of* ENGLAND. *Pretended* POPISH PLOT.—CHARLES *diſſolves ſeveral Parliaments, and continues abſolute till his Death.*

1674 till 1685. Diſcontent and cabals in England.

CHARLES II. having been obliged, as we have already obſerved, to make peace with the Dutch in 1674, his connexions with France, his ſchemes of abſolute government, his deſire to favour the catholicks, and his brother the duke of York, the preſumptive heir of the crown, being of that religion, conſtantly occaſioned a dangerous ferment. The earl of Shafteſbury, who was chancellor, and the principal author of the bad meaſures which he had adopted, no ſooner ſaw the king ſoften, and begin to deviate from the ſyſtem of the *cabal*, than he immediately joined the malecontents. This perfidy was the more fatal, as, to profound policy, and a depraved heart, the earl added an uncommon ſhare of abilities.

Charles in ſecret intelligence with Louis XIV.

The general wiſh was, that Charles would join the confederates againſt the formidable power of Louis XIV. the intereſt of the kingdom required it, the parliament offered plentiful ſupplies, and were deceived by ſome demonſtrations of zeal exhibited by the king, who was chained down by his natural indolence and love of pleaſure. The promiſes of France had their uſual effect, and Louis crowned his triumphs by the treaty of Nimeguen. The vexation

which

which this could not fail to produce, was not the only cauſe of murmuring and animoſity. The duke of Lauderdale governed Scotland like a tyrant; where he committed the moſt enormous iniquities, ſparing nobody, but more particularly perſecuting the preſbyterians. All the news from that kingdom, and the outcries of the Scots, were but too capable of ſetting the Engliſh in commotion, whoſe minds were agitated by diſtruſt.

Oppreſſion of Scotland.

In this critical and turbulent ſtate, the credulous multitude greedily catched at chimeras which ſuited with their prejudices. A phantom of a *popiſh plot* generated almoſt incredible diſturbances; and a worthleſs impoſtor cauſed that to be received as certain, which common ſenſe ought to have rejected from its abſurdity. The infamous wretch was called Titus Oates; he had been accuſed of perjury in his youth, had turned Roman catholick, and entered with the Jeſuits at St. Omer's, from whence he was very ſoon diſmiſſed; when reſentment, poverty, and wickedneſs, inſpired him with a reſolution worthy of himſelf. He ſet himſelf up as an accuſer, declaring, that his change of religion was only pretended; that his purpoſe was to diſcover the ſecrets of the papiſts and Jeſuits, and that he had ſucceeded; upon which he diſcloſed a ſtrange myſtery, of which we may judge by a ſimple expoſition.

Prejudices againſt the catholicks.

The impoſtor Oates.

He aſſerted, that the pope, claiming the ſovereignty of England, had entruſted the exerciſe of his power to the Jeſuits; and of courſe their general had diſpoſed of the principal employments

His depoſitions on the *popiſh plot*.

ments by patents, to which his ſeal was affixed. Fifty Jeſuits, in London, had unanimouſly determined to cauſe the king to be aſſaſſinated: Father de la Chaiſe, the confeſſor of Louis XIV. had depoſited ten thouſand pounds ſterling for the regicide: The crown was to be offered to the duke of York; but if he refuſed to accept it, as the gift of the pope, his death was likewiſe determined. That order were the authors of the fire of London in 1666, when they got immenſe ſums of money by plunder; that they intended another fire and a dreadful maſſacre, the plan for the execution being already formed; and univerſal deſtruction was to be ſpread, that they might govern the kingdom and eſtabliſh popery.

Coleman arreſted.

Upon theſe depoſitions of Oates, the whole nation was ſeized with the ſame frenzy; and Coleman, the dutcheſs of York's ſecretary, was ſeized. Among his papers were found a very indiſcreet correſpondence with Father de la Chaiſe and the pope's nuncio, which contained obſcure hints of projects, conveyed in ambiguous terms, which might be eaſily turned to a bad ſenſe. Though his letters prove nothing but the indiſcreet zeal of a catholick, they were conſtrued into a certain proof of the conſpiracy. The murder of the juſtice of peace, who took Oates's depoſition, ſtrengthened the prejudices and increaſed the alarm. The ſtreets of London were barricadoed, as in times of the moſt imminent danger; and the whole city was agitated with commotions of the moſt unhappy tendency.

Tumult in London, 1678.

Charles

Charles had too much good ſenſe not to ſee that this plot was a forgery; but he could neither diſpel the errour nor reſiſt the torrent; and his chief miniſter, Danby, even laid the affair before parliament. The parliament, having examined Oates, very ſoon declared, that the papiſts had entered into an infernal conſpiracy againſt religion and the kingdom; and a lodging was aſſigned to the impoſtor in the palace of Whitehall, with a penſion of twelve hundred pounds ſterling. Another villain, that he might be entitled to a ſimilar reward, came and acted the ſame part, adding new abſurdities to the depoſitions of the former; and theſe two falſe witneſſes were credited like oracles.

The affair laid before the parliament.

The parliament proceeded to the greateſt extremities, and eſtabliſhed the *teſt* (an oath) by which popery was accuſed of idolatry. It is very extraordinary, that the laws of a chriſtian country ſhould place the catholicks on a level with pagans! Whoever refuſed to take the teſt, was excluded from ſitting in parliament. The duke of York in tears, proteſting that he would not exerciſe his religion openly, obtained an exception in his favour, by a majority of only two voices. Danby was next accuſed of having ſold a peace to France, which ſeemed to be proved by one of his letters, written during the negotiations of Nimeguen; but the king, with his own hand, had added—*This letter was written by my order.* The ſecrets of the miniſtry would have employed the audacious turbulence of the commons, if Charles had not at laſt diſſolved

Popery taxed with idolatry by a teſt.

Danby accuſed.

Charles diſſolves the parliament.

ſolved that parliament, to which he had formerly been indebted for ſo many important ſervices: It was that of 1661.

The miniſter proſecuted by another parliament.

A ſecond parliament, which was aſſembled in 1679, followed the paths of the firſt, renewed the accuſation of the miniſter, though provided with a general pardon from the king, and maintained that a pardon from the crown could not ſave him from an impeachment by the commons. They declared, that if the perſon accuſed did not appear, he ſhould be deemed guilty; upon which Danby preſented himſelf, and was put in priſon. This was only a prelude to the attempts of parliament.

Bill to exclude the duke of York from the crown.

It was in vain that the king perſuaded his brother to withdraw from the kingdom, in hopes that his abſence would leſſen the hatred which his character and religion had excited. In vain did he admit the popular leaders into his council, that he might recover the confidence of the people; and, though Shafteſbury was created preſident of that council, he was no leſs zealous againſt the royal family. Charles ſaw that they intended to exclude the duke of York from the ſucceſſion, and he endeavoured to ward off the blow. He offered to limit the prerogative in ſuch a manner, that the religion of that prince could not give any umbrage; but all his offers and inſtances could not prevent a bill from being paſſed by the commons, which excluded the duke from the ſucceſſion. If Charles had entertained that regard for his queen, Catharine of Portugal, which he ought

to

to have had for a virtuous wife, or had ſhe brought him any children, he would not have been expoſed to ſuch dreadful ſtorms.

Habeas corpus act.

The famous *habeas corpus* act, againſt arbitrary impriſonments, was the work of this parliament. By it, every priſoner, upon his own requiſition, muſt be carried before a court of juſtice, accuſed and tried within a period limited by the law, and if reſtored to liberty by the judges, cannot again be impriſoned for the ſame cauſe. The bill paſſed, and is at preſent one of the foundations of Engliſh liberty.

Parliament diſſolved.

Charles finding that he could not put a ſtop to the ſeditious proceedings of the parliament, thought proper to diſſolve them; but that did not reſtore tranquillity. The Scotch preſbyterians had aſſaſſinated the primate, archbiſhop of St. Andrews; and new ſeverities made them revolt and take up arms. The duke of Monmouth, the king's natural ſon, was ſent to reduce them; and as theſe fanaticks had no leaders but their clergy, he met with little difficulty; but the ferment was renewed in England. The *Whigs* and *Tories*, names which ever ſince that time have been famous, divided the whole nation. The firſt oppoſed the court, and demanded that a parliament ſhould be immediately aſſembled; while the ſecond teſtified a profound reſpect for the will of the ſovereign. The whigs carried their point, and procured the calling of the third parliament, which began with acts of violence againſt the tories, without even reſpecting the *habeas corpus* act.

New diſturbances.

Whigs and *Tories*.

Third parliament 1680.

Falſe

False zealots for liberty always aim at becoming oppressors.

Executions on account of the popish plot.

Coleman and six Jesuits had been condemned and executed on account of the popish plot; about which no doubt was allowed to be entertained. Five catholick peers, accused of the same offence, waited their sentence in confinement. The eldest of them, the viscount Strafford, an old man of a virtuous irreproachable character, fell a sacrifice to injustice. Though his accusers were not worthy of credit, and their depositions absurd, yet he was condemned even by the house of peers. He died like a hero, protesting his innocence to the last; with which the people were so struck, that the illusion almost instantly vanished, at least it put a stop to such odious prosecutions. Oates was convicted of being an impostor in the reign of James II. and condemned to be put in the pillory, and afterwards to perpetual imprisonment; but was, in the sequel, rewarded by king William.

Fourth parliament likewise dissolved.

The complaisance which the want of money obliged Charles to shew, did not prevent the commons from continuing their arrogance, and desiring that the bill of exclusion, levelled at the duke of York, should be passed into a law; declaring, that, unless it was done, they would not grant the supplies; so that the king found it necessary to dissolve the parliament. Charles summoned a fourth parliament to meet at Oxford, where he hoped the same seditious spirit would not prevail as had done in London: But his expectations

pectations were fruſtrated; for they likewiſe inſiſted on the bill of excluſion, and even rejected an expedient which the moſt violent ſhould have approved; it was to baniſh the duke of York for life, who might have the title of king, but without any power, and the next heir to govern in quality of regent. This formidable parliament was likewiſe diſſolved in 1681.

The king becomes abſolute by means of economy.

Charles being reſolved never to expoſe himſelf any more to the attempts of his parliaments, adopted the economical ſyſtem of Elizabeth, which was ſo advantageous for the crown. He leſſened his expenſes conſiderably, and thereby added to his funds; and, in proportion as his wants were diminiſhed, rendered his authority reſpectable: In one word, he became abſolute over the three kingdoms. His agreeable temper and pleaſing manners might have made him adored by his ſubjects; but, unfortunately, he yielded to his inclination for deſpotiſm, or rather gave himſelf up to the guidance of his brother the duke of York, who ſpread terrour through the whole kingdom. London was ſtripped of its privileges, and Scotland groaned under the moſt oppreſſive tyranny. The king's brother was more the ſovereign, and better ſerved than Charles himſelf, which occaſioned the following expreſſion of the famous poet Waller:—*Charles, in reſentment to his parliament, who would not ſuffer the duke of York to ſucceed him, was reſolved that he ſhould reign beforehand.*

Abuſe of power owing to the influence of the duke of York.

Conſpiracy diſcovered.

A conſpiracy formed by the earl of Shafteſbury, in which the duke of Monmouth, the lords

lords Ruſſel, Grey, Howard, and others entered, might have overturned the government, if the impetuous temper of Shafteſbury, provoked by ſome unforeſeen delays, had not made him withdraw to Holland. The reſt were betrayed, and Howard obtained a pardon by diſcovering his accomplices. Ruſſel, who was the idol of the people, ſuffered upon a ſcaffold with the greateſt courage. Sidney, who, by his vaſt genius and principles of liberty, had made a figure in the time of the republick, ſuffered the ſame fate with the ſame conſtancy, and congratulated himſelf that he was dying for a cauſe which he had always ſupported as the beſt. The duke of Monmouth was pardoned; but, having retracted his confeſſion, was obliged to fly from court in the year 1683.

Deaths of Ruſſel and Sidney.

The king ruled with abſolute authority till his death; and the duke of York, without having taken the teſt, reſumed the employment of lord high admiral. The doctrine of paſſive obedience or non reſiſtance, ſeemed to be eſtabliſhed on the ruins of the parliamentary principles. The univerſity of Oxford even condemned the following propoſitions, among many others:—*All civil authority is originally derived from the people. Self preſervation is the fundamental law of nature, and puts a ſtop to the efficacy of other laws, when oppoſed to it.* To what lengths could not monarchy have reached, if it had fallen into abler hands than thoſe of Charles II? That prince, who was of an amiable character, and had a great ſhare of abilities, but imprudent, and corrupted by luxury, died at the

Principles of paſſive obedience.

Death of Charles II.

the age of forty nine, in the year 1685. During his life he ſeemed to be a deiſt, but at his death he ſhewed himſelf a catholick, by receiving the ſacraments of the church of Rome. His brother was acknowledged, without any difficulty, under the title of James II.

CHAP. VII.

JAMES II. *draws upon himſelf the Hatred of the* ENGLISH.—*Dethroned by* WILLIAM, *Prince of Orange.*—*The* ENGLISH CONSTITUTION *fixed.*

1685 to 1689. James II. expoſed to the hatred of the nation.

JAMES II. poſſeſſed both virtue and courage, though with much more ſlender abilities than his brother, yet not without capacity. He might have been one of the greateſt kings in Europe, if he had ſhewn more regard to the religion and laws of his country; but an unfortunate paſſion for arbitrary power, and an indiſcreet zeal for the church of Rome, expoſed him to the hatred of his people. Inſtead of regulating his conduct from experience, he let himſelf be hurried away by his principles, and in a reign of four years committed ſo many faults, that he may be called the inſtrument of his own misfortunes.

Good beginnings badly ſupported.

His firſt proceedings, and his language at his acceſſion, promiſed an equitable government, and all was joy and confidence: The hearts of the people ſeemed to fly to meet him, and a moderate ſhare of prudence would have re-

moved every ſubject of uneaſineſs; but theſe prejudices in his favour were of no long continuance. Though the council was compoſed of proteſtants, it was known that Romiſh prieſts, and more particularly Jeſuits, were the ſecret adviſers of the monarch. What influence was not to be expected from their ſuggeſtions?

The parliament favour him.

He ſoon ſhewed a contempt for the laws, by publickly aſſiſting at maſs, and by raiſing taxes without the authority of parliament; but that body, according to cuſtom, was ſoon aſſembled. The tories or royaliſts prevailed there, and James had every thing to hope. In his ſpeech to parliament, he renewed the promiſe of following the eſtabliſhed laws, and maintaining the proteſtant religion; but at the ſame time he gave them to underſtand (and it was a bad prognoſtick) that he could do without a parliament, if he found them unwilling to grant ſupplies. They aſſured him that he ſhould have the ſame revenue which was granted to his brother Charles, twelve hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

Duke of Monmouth's rebellion.

The duke of Monmouth, a natural ſon of Charles, rebelled againſt the king his uncle, whom in his manifeſto he called a tyrant and popiſh uſurper. The parliament declared the duke guilty of high treaſon, and granted forty thouſand pounds to the king to quaſh the rebellion. This proof of zeal was followed by the defeat and taking of Monmouth, who was executed. James let ſlip an excellent opportunity of making himſelf beloved for his clemency; but the great misfortune was, that he made himſelf

himſelf deteſted by his barbarity. On pretence of puniſhing the guilty, an inhuman officer of the army (colonel Kirke) and ſtill more, Jeffe-ries, the lord chief juſtice, bathed themſelves in blood: Even ſeveral women of rank were put to death for having charitably received ſome of the fugitives, and Jefferies, though loaded with uni-verſal execration, was appointed chancellor of the kingdom.

Barbarous executions.

However, all was quiet and ſubmiſſive. The parliament of Scotland no longer breathed the ſpirit of independence; but, immerſed in ſlavery, by their acts acknowledged the *abſolute* power of the king, and in every thing conformed to his pleaſure. The Engliſh parliament granted him a larger ſupply than was aſked, though the king had given a general diſpenſation from taking the teſt, which was eſtabliſhed during the former reign, againſt the Roman catholick religion: But this diſpenſation, which the commons durſt not examine, was taken into conſideration by the houſe of peers; upon which James, who could not bear the leaſt ſhadow of oppoſition, pro-rogued the parliament.

All appear-ed ſubmiſ-ſive.

Diſpenſa-tion from the teſt.

Upon this, the alarm againſt popery began to revive, from apprehenſions founded on the moſt ſtriking proofs. Father Peters, a Jeſuit, the king's confeſſor, an intriguing zealot, was the ſoul of the privy council. From the be-ginning, the Spaniſh ambaſſadour repreſented the danger of placing exceſſive confidence in the prieſts. James aſking him if the king of Spain did not conſult his confeſſor, the ambaſſadour frankly replied—*Yes, Sir; and that is the very*

Father Pe-ters in too great credit.

Cauſes of apprehenſion in the nation.

reaſon our affairs ſucceed ſo badly. The duke of Ormond, and other proteſtants of high rank, loſt their influence; ſeveral noblemen and miniſters embraced the Romiſh religion. The diſpenſing power, which had hitherto been looked upon as the royal prerogative, became a theme of diſpute after the examination of it had been prohibited. This delicate queſtion threw men's minds into a ferment; and, on this occaſion, the king's imprudence overleaped all bounds.

Great faults of the king, from zeal for the Romiſh religion.

At the time when the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and the clamours of the French refugees, had irritated the implacable enemies of the Romiſh religion, the king eſtabliſhed an arbitrary tribunal, like the high commiſſion court of Elizabeth, where the biſhop of London was ſuſpended, for having ſpared a clergyman who had preached againſt the doctrine of the church of Rome. He violated the privileges of the univerſities, by introducing Roman catholicks, and granted an univerſal toleration, of which it was evident that the catholicks were the true object. He ſent an ambaſſadour extraordinary to the pope, though all correſpondence with Rome was forbidden as treaſonable, and received the pope's nuncio in London, who conſecrated biſhops, publiſhed paſtoral inſtructions, and ſeemed to live in a country ſubmiſſive to his authority. At laſt the inſtances of that prince's miſconduct were ſo frequent and dangerous, that even Innocent XI. blamed the exceſs of his zeal, which the court of Rome foreſaw would produce fatal conſequences.

Six

Six biſhops refuſed to publiſh the declaration for liberty of conſcience, becauſe it was illegal, and were therefore immediately ſent to priſon. The people, penetrated with reſpect and ſorrow, flocked to ſee them paſs, and the guard that conducted them ſhewed they were affected with the ſame ſentiments. Notwithſtanding the influence of the court, they had a fair trial, were acquitted by the judges, and the people openly manifeſted their joy; an evident ſign of a ferment, ready to ſet the kingdom in a flame, which became more violent from new abuſes of power. In 1687, a prince of Wales, an heir to the crown, was born; and this event occaſioned reports injurious to the queen's reputation.

Proſecution of ſix biſhops.

A general ferment.

James had two daughters, Mary and Anne; the firſt married to William prince of Orange, the ſecond to prince George of Denmark: A revolution might raiſe William to the throne of England; but that profound, ambitious politician ſeemed to be quite otherwiſe engaged, not in the leaſt intermeddling in the affairs of his father in law; on the contrary, teſtifying the ſtrongeſt attachment to him, entering into the deſign of humbling Louis XIV. and forming the celebrated league of Augſburgh, which I ſhall have occaſion to mention afterwards. However, he was not leſs inclined to take advantage of the diſcontents of the Engliſh, who had already applied for his aſſiſtance; beſides, the birth of the prince of Wales was an additional motive for breaking with a father in law whom he did not love. He diſapproved of the conduct of James; he had loſt all hopes of the ſucceſſion;

Political conduct of the prince of Orange, ſon in law of James.

ſucceſſion; every thing invited him to take violent meaſures; he broke with the king, and ſecured ſucceſs by his prudence.

All parties againſt the king.

The king had made himſelf deteſted by all parties; a certain proof of bad government. The tories, and even the biſhops, who from principle were devoted to the crown, were almoſt of the ſame opinion with the whigs. The church of England and the preſbyterians forgot their religious diſputes, to unite againſt a common oppreſſion; William flattered all parties, and his emiſſaries procured him a number of adherents, while he was employed in making immenſe preparations for war; but, what is moſt aſtoniſhing, the ſecret was inviolably preſerved. The armament of the ſtadtholder ſeemed to threaten France, and it was natural to aſcribe it to the league of Augſburgh.

William flatters all parties, and arms in ſecret.

James refuſes the offers of Louis XIV.

Yet the count d'Avaux, ambaſſadour of Louis XIV. at the Hague, penetrated the ſecret, and ſent advice of it; when Louis prevented the king of England by an offer of a fleet, and to make a diverſion in the Low Countries; but James would not give credit to the information, and haughtily refuſing theſe neceſſary ſuccours, lulled himſelf into ſecurity on the very brink of the precipice. An inconceivable blindneſs, eſpecially at a time when the Engliſh fleet had mutinied, and the army was ready to revolt, becauſe the attempts againſt the laws and religion of the kingdom were not diſcontinued.

1688. He opens his eyes when too late.

Certain accounts having at laſt arrived from Holland, that the prince of Orange was ready to invade England, the king, ſtruck dumb, trembling,

trembling, and diſpirited, retracted his declarations, and attempted to repair his faults when it was too late. William, in a manifeſto, gave a lively picture of the Engliſh grievances, and declared that he intended to come with an army to ſave the nation from the pernicious counſels with which the king was beſet, to ſee a free parliament aſſembled, to ſupport the liberty of the nation, and inquire into the legitimacy of the prince of Wales. This manifeſto was quite conformable to the general wiſh, and was the ſignal of a ſpeedy revolution.

William's manifeſto.

William ſet out with a fleet of about five hundred ſail, in which he had embarked an army of more than fourteen thouſand men. He had ſcarcely landed, on the fifteenth of November, when numbers of the Engliſh nobility and officers haſtened to join him. Churchill, afterwards duke of Marlborough, the favourite and lieutenant general of James, did not heſitate to betray his unhappy maſter. The prince of Denmark, his ſon in law, and even his beloved daughter, the princeſs Anne, cruelly abandoned him; upon which he loſt all courage, diſtruſted his army, dreaded his parliament, and fled even without trying his fortune. He was taken, and refuſed an interview by the prince of Orange, who ſent him priſoner to Rocheſter, a town near the ſea coaſt; but as ſuch a priſoner could not fail greatly to embarraſs him, he facilitated his eſcape into France.

Sudden revolution. The king flies.

The more that this attempt againſt a ſovereign, and a father in law, was offenſive to nature and the law of nations, the more did William,

1689. The throne declared vacant.

liam, in other reſpects the friend of liberty, take care to avoid the reproach of being an uſurper. The parliament was ſummoned, and met ſimply as a *convention*, becauſe the name of *parliament* ſuppoſes their being convoked by the king.

Parliamentary debates.

The commons declared, that "James, having "attempted to overturn the conſtitution of "the kingdom, by breaking the *original con-* "*tract* between king and people, having violat- "ed the fundamental laws, by the advice of Jeſ- "uits and other pernicious counſellors, and "having fled out of the kingdom, hath abdi- "cated his government; the throne was there- "fore declared vacant." After ſome keen diſputes in the houſe of lords on the reality of the national contract, on the violation of that contract, and laſtly, on the throne being vacant, the declaration of the commons was received without amendment. This act is one of the moſt remarkable events in hiſtory.

The crown given to William and Mary jointly.

They came next to deliberate whether a king or a regent ſhould be appointed; and upon this occaſion the ambition of the prince of Orange was unmaſked. He declared to ſome of the nobility, that he would no longer interfere in the affairs of the kingdom, whether they ſettled a regency, or aſſigned the crown to the princeſs Mary, his wife, the eldeſt daughter of James; in a word, if he was only to enjoy a precarious dignity, attached to the life of another perſon. The parliament could not draw back; the two daughters of the king accommodated matters with the prince, and it was enacted, that the crown ſhould be poſſeſſed by William and Mary jointly;

jointly ; that William ſhould have the ſole adminiſtration ; that the princeſs Anne ſhould ſucceed after their death, and her poſterity after thoſe of Mary.

Bill of rights.

To this was added a declaration, fixing the rights of the ſubjects, and reſtraining the royal prerogative, of which the following are the moſt eſſential articles. The king cannot ſuſpend the laws, nor the execution of the laws, without the conſent of parliament. He can neither erect an eccleſiaſtical nor any other tribunal. He cannot levy money which has not been granted by parliament, nor in any other manner, or for a longer time, than has been granted. He cannot raiſe nor maintain an army, without the conſent of parliament. The ſubjects have a right to preſent petitions to the king, for which they can neither be impriſoned nor proſecuted. Proteſtant ſubjects may keep ſuch arms for their defence as are allowed by law. Elections to be free, and the language or debates of parliament to be examined only in parliament. Exceſſive bail not to be exacted, nor exorbitant fines impoſed, nor too ſevere puniſhments inflicted. The juries on trials for high treaſon muſt be members of the communities ; and to remedy abuſes, it is neceſſary that parliaments be frequently aſſembled.

New oath of ſupremacy.

To the old oath of ſupremacy a new form was ſubſtituted, which declares, that, *No prince, prelate, ſtate, or foreign ſovereign, hath, or ought to have, any juriſdiction, power, ſuperiority, preeminence, or authority, eccleſiaſtical or ſpiritual, in the*

the kingdom. This was an eternal divorce from popery.

The royal prerogative always very extenſive.

The Engliſh conſtitution was fixed in this manner by the national aſſembly; and probably the power of the crown would have been ſtill more limited, even as much as we ſhall ſee that it was in Sweden, if they had not been impreſſed with a dread of William's army, or their deliberations had not been influenced by his addreſs. A king who has it in his power to aſſemble, to prorogue, or diſſolve the parliament; to refuſe his conſent to bills, without which they cannot have the force of laws; the power of nominating the members of the council, the great offices, and all the chief employments of the ſtate; whoſe revenue exceeds three millions ſterling, without reckoning the benefices of the church; who of courſe has immenſe means of attaching to his perſon men capable of ſerving him; the right of making war or peace, of adminiſtering juſtice, or the general government of the kingdom, without being accountable, ought naturally to give umbrage to a people who are exceſſively jealous of liberty.

What neceſſarily limits it.

But the royal authority has a very ſtrong counterpoiſe in the neceſſity of having recourſe to parliament for ſupplies; in that ſpirit of liberty which is ever watchful over the proceedings of government, and always ready to cenſure them with freedom; in the empire of the laws, which are infinitely dear and reſpectable in the eyes of a high ſpirited people, who make their happineſs to depend upon them; in the prevailing opinion, which is capable of ſetting

the

the whole ſtate in commotion, if the court has the imprudence to thwart it; in the energy of that elevated character and depth of underſtanding which diſtinguiſhes theſe iſlanders; and laſtly, in the remembrance of thoſe revolutions which have ſo frequently ſhaken the throne.

William III. always vexed by his ſubjects.

William, who was more a king in Holland than in England, experienced, during the whole of his reign, how difficult it is to govern the Engliſh. At firſt his revenue was granted to him only for a ſhort and limited time; they determined the amount of his houſehold expenſes, and reſolved that the remainder of the publick revenue ſhould be ſubject to parliamentary inſpection. In one word, he had reaſon to repent of having been deſirous of a crown, which to him was only productive of vexation.

James II. makes himſelf contemptible in France.

We ſhall ſee Louis XIV. at war with all Europe, and employing the greateſt efforts to reſtore James II. who appeared no longer any thing but an abject prince, deſtitute both of courage and prudence, and devoted totally to the Jeſuits; even France, the witneſs of his debaſement, deeming him deſerving of his misfortunes. While duke of York, he appeared capable of governing; but when king, he ſeemed to have loſt all the merit of the duke of York. So much can misfortune depreſs the minds of men, to whom power and oppoſition communicate vigour! So much does piety, calculated to excite men to the diſcharge of their duty, require underſtanding in the ſuperiour ranks of life, to enable them to diſtinguiſh between real duties and the mere forms of devotion!

EPOCHA

EPOCHA OF LOUIS XIV.

BOOK III.

[From the War of 1688, to the Congreſs of Utrecht, in 1712.]

CHAP. I.

LEAGUE *of* AUGSBURGH *againſt* LOUIS XIV.—*He maintains a ſucceſsful War againſt almoſt all* EUROPE.

The famous prince of Orange ſtirs up Europe againſt Louis.

OF all the enemies whom Louis XIV. had drawn upon himſelf, there was not one more to be dreaded, from his abilities and implacable hatred, than the famous prince of Orange, who was at that time deſpiſed, upon too ſlight grounds, by the French, becauſe he had not been fortunate in war. By exaggerating the ambition of Louis, repreſenting him as aiming at univerſal monarchy, inſiſting upon his violent attempts to make the conſequences dreaded, he for a long time added fuel to that fire which was ſoon to ſet all Europe in a flame.

League of Augſburgh.

By the league of Augſburgh in 1686, which was confirmed the next year at Venice, he united the confederates of the laſt war to maintain the treaties

treaties of Munſter and Nimeguen. Pope Innocent XI. without having any communication with that heretical prince, ſeconded his views, and the miſunderſtanding between the courts of France and Rome daily increaſed.

Fruitleſs attempt to make a friend of France elector of Cologne.

Louis was deſirous to procure the electorate of Cologne to cardinal Furſtenberg, biſhop of Straſburg, who was entirely devoted to his intereſts; and, notwithſtanding that ſeveral of the canons proteſted againſt it, he ſo far ſucceeded as to get him choſen coadjutor; but the election was declared void by Innocent. A prince of Bavaria, who was only ſeventeen years of age, and already biſhop of Ratiſbon, being provided with a diſpenſation, (for politicks are not ſcrupulous in attending to the canons) was afterwards preferred to the cardinal, with the approbation of the whole empire. To this motive for going to war were added two others; a claim was fruitleſsly ſet up to the real or pretended rights of the dutcheſs of Orleans, the princeſs Palatine, for the ſucceſſion of her brother the elector Palatine; and the empire had refuſed to change the truce of Ratiſbon into a perpetual peace. So much was not neceſſary to make the king take up arms; who being provoked at the league of Augſburgh, and anxious to prevent its deſigns, broke the truce, and attacked Germany.

Other grievances alleged by the king.

He breaks the truce.

Leopold carries on a ſucceſsful war againſt the Turks.

The emperour Leopold found himſelf in a more advantageous ſituation than formerly. Buda had been taken from the Turks by aſſault in 1686, and being defeated the following year at Mohaez by the duke of Lorraine and the

Crown of Hungary hereditary.

the elector of Bavaria, they loſt Sclavonia. The ſtates of Hungary had lately abrogated the old law, by which the ſovereign, in caſe of a violation of the privileges of the people, might be depoſed, making the crown hereditary in the male line of the Auſtrian family, and conſented to receive imperial garriſons. This was owing to the emperour's having confirmed the Hungarian privileges, and incorporating into that kingdom the conqueſts gained from the Turks. Beſides, his eldeſt ſon Joſeph was crowned king of Hungary: But, however, it was neceſſary to continue the war on that ſide, which made a diverſion favourable to Louis XIV.

1688. France takes up arms.

While the imperialiſts took Belgrade and ſubdued Servia, the dauphin, with an army of an hundred thouſand men, carried univerſal diſmay into the empire.

Taking of Philipſburg.

After a ſiege of nineteen days the dauphin made himſelf maſter of Philipſburg; Mentz, Manheim, Spires, Worms, and Treves were already in the hands of the French; and, in 1689,

Palatinate laid waſte.

the Palatinate was cruelly given up to the flames. More than forty cities, and an infinite number of villages, were burnt, and all that fine country laid waſte. What a dreadful monument of what is called the rights of war, or rather the mercileſs ſeverity of Louvois! for it was he that determined the king to iſſue theſe cruel orders. Could he think it impoſſible for the enemy to penetrate on ſome occaſion into his own kingdom? And if they did, what repriſals were not to be expected? Sound policy will always reſpect the cauſe of humanity.

At

Conduct of James II. in France.

At this time the fugitive James II. without having fought for the preſervation of his crown, ſought an aſylum in France, where his life was more like that of a Jeſuit than a monarch. The indecent expreſſion of le Tellier, archbiſhop of Reims, is a proof of the ſmall degree of eſteem in which he was held :—*There is a ſimpleton has given three kingdoms for a maſs !* Undoubtedly, if he had added the qualities of a prince and a hero to his religion, it would have rendered him worthy of admiration. Louis diſplayed his magnificence in favour of James, who appeared as contemptible as the other appeared great.

He paſſes into Ireland, where he takes wrong meaſures.

A powerful French ſquadron was ſent to tranſport the dethroned monarch into Ireland, and he was ſpeedily followed by freſh ſuccours. He found the Iriſh inclined to ſerve him, and was received with tranſports of joy in Dublin ; but the more the catholicks teſtified their zeal, the leſs did he attempt to conciliate the minds of the proteſtants. Londonderry, an inconſiderable town, where the proteſtant religion prevailed, where their miniſter, Walker, gave his orders, and inſpired the inhabitants with enthuſiaſm, was the firſt rock upon which he ſplit ; he raiſed the ſiege of that place, after having loſt nine thouſand men. The next year (1690) Tourville, vice admiral of France, gained a complete victory over the united fleets of England and Holland off Dieppe ; a victory which ſecured the empire of the ſea to France for almoſt two years ; but this advantage was of no benefit to the unfortunate James, whoſe whole

Siege of Londonderry.

1690. The French maſters of the ſea.

whole conduct was nothing but a ſeries of blunders.

Battle of the Boyne.

William went over to Ireland, and James wanted to riſk an engagement; the two armies, having each about forty thouſand men, came in ſight of one another on the oppoſite banks of the Boyne. While William was examining the ground, a cannon ball grazed his ſhoulder, and the enemy believing he was killed, gave vent to their joy; but having encouraged his army, by riding along the lines, he gave the order of battle for the next day. The action was deciſive, and he paſſed the river, expoſed to the greateſt dangers. The mareſchal Schomberg, who fought on his ſide at the head of the French refugees, loſt his life, without that misfortune having the conſequences which might have been apprehended. The Iriſh, who are almoſt always eaſily defeated in their own country, fled at the firſt onſet; only the French fought with courage, and retreated in good order. James did not even appear, though it was of ſo much conſequence to him to ſet an example; and France very ſoon witneſſed his return, ſtill leſs deſerving of the ſacrifices ſhe had made in his favour.

James defeated.

Ireland reduced by William.

Ireland was entirely ſubdued by William's generals in two campaigns. Though Louis ſent three thouſand men and an immenſe quantity of proviſions to Limerick, that important place capitulated. A general amneſty and liberty of conſcience, granted to the Iriſh, were the means employed to attach them to the new government;

government; but, however, twelve thouſand of them took the advantage of the permiſſion which was granted for them to retire, and France became their country; but they did not carry thither the wealth and induſtry which ſhe had loſt by the emigration of the proteſtants.

Louis already had England, Holland, Spain, the duke of Savoy, almoſt all Italy, in league with the emperour, and the greateſt part of the empire againſt him; but ſuch were ſtill the reſources and vigour of his government during this war, that his arms continued to have the ſuperiority. We ſhall only give a haſty ſketch of the moſt memorable events. Enemies of Louis XIV.

In 1689, Charles V. duke of Lorraine and the elector of Bavaria retook Bonn and Mentz. Theſe towns, though badly fortified, were admirably defended; the firſt by the baron d'Aſfield, who was mortally wounded in a general aſſault; the ſecond by the marquis (afterwards mareſchal) d'Uxelles, who, after having made twenty one ſallies, was obliged to yield for want of powder. At his return he was hiſſed in the theatre at Paris: The French were ſo accuſtomed to victory, they judged from prejudice. Sieges of Bonn and Mentz.

That ſame year the prince of Waldeck defeated the mareſchal d'Humieres at Valcour in the Low Countries; but he was in his turn defeated at Fleurus, in 1690, by the mareſchal de Luxemburg, who had been choſen by the king, though hated by Louvois. The battle of Leuſes, in 1691, where twenty eight ſquadrons defeated ſeventy five; the bloody battle of Steenkirk, in 1692, and of Nerwinden, where William Campaigns of the mareſchal Luxemburg. Battles of Steenkirk and Nerwinden.

iam was defeated, in 1693, completed the glory of Luxemburg, the worthy pupil of the great Condé. In theſe laſt actions ſome young princes of the blood charged the enemy with heroick valour, and the ſon of the famous Turenne was killed in following their example. The king in perſon took Mons and Namur; which laſt William, though at the head of a great army, could not relieve.

Campaigns of Catinat.

Battles of Stafarda and la Marſaille.

On the other hand, the mareſchal Catinat, a philoſopher and warrior, who was always the ſame in every degree of fortune, gained a complete victory over the duke of Savoy at Stafarda, which was followed by the taking of Suza, Villafranca, Montealbano, Nice, Montmelian, &c. in 1691. Being obliged to remain upon the defenſive, becauſe ſome of his troops were recalled, yet he attacked and defeated the duke at Marſeilles, as ſoon as he had ſufficient force to engage him without being guilty of an act of imprudence (1693). The French then retaliated upon Piedmont, the ravages which that prince had committed in Dauphiny.

War in Germany and Catalonia.

A French army under the mareſchal de Lorges was likewiſe ſucceſsful in Germany, where the war was carried on with leſs ſpirit: But the mareſchal de Noailles had much greater in Catalonia, where he took Roſes in 1693, Palamos, Girona, &c. in 1694, after having gained a battle on the banks of the Ter. The king of Spain, being deſtitute of money to pay his army,

The king of Spain in want of money.

was obliged to retrench the third of the appointments of his officers, even the military; to ſell the vice royalties of Mexico and Peru; and to borrow

borrow at the rate of fifteen *per cent*. Both his finances and credit were ruined, and Spain for a long time had exhauſted the New World of its gold for the advantage of other nations. This monarchy reſembled a great coloſſus tumbling into duſt.

Louis exhauſted by his victories, offers peace.

But France by her victories gained only glory, and ruined herſelf by empty triumphs, of which Louis was certainly ſenſible, ſince, in 1694, he made an offer of peace and the reſtitution of his conqueſts. Whether it proceeded from diſtruſt, ambition, or hatred, the enemy refuſed at that time what they accepted in 1697 at Ryſwick. Louvois and Luxemburg were both dead; loſſes difficult to be repaired, eſpecially as the war was not terminated. The firſt, though too ſevere, and a friend to violent meaſures, yet excelled in a number of the duties of a miniſter: The ſecond, notwithſtanding the envy with which he was perſecuted, glorioufly ſupplied the loſs of the great Condé and Turenne.

1695. William retakes Namur in the ſame manner as it had been taken by Louis.

William III. who had been often defeated, and therefore was but too little eſteemed in France, though he could moſt wonderfully recover a loſs in the field, clearly ſhewed, that ſucceſs in war does not always prove the abilities of a general. The taking of Namur by Louis XIV. in the preſence of an army of fourſcore thouſand men commanded by king William, was looked upon as a prodigy; and this laſt was expoſed to ridicule, becauſe he could not ſave the place; yet he retook it, notwithſtanding the greateſt obſtructions. The mareſchal de Boufflers, equally eminent as a good citizen

and excellent general, had thrown himſelf into the place with ſeven regiments, and the garriſon was already numerous: The mareſchal de Villeroi was on the banks of the Mehaigne, with an army of fourſcore thouſand men, but Villeroi did nothing; and though the ſiege was long and warm, William at laſt triumphed. The parliament of England had vexed the king, yet they laviſhed immenſe ſums from hatred to France, and granted four millions ſeven hundred thouſand pounds ſterling for the ſupport of this campaign. The ſupplies during this reign were enormous, and the war could not be maintained but by exhauſting the kingdom.

Battle of la Hogue in 1692.

After the famous battle of la Hogue, fought in 1692, the hopes of James were almoſt entirely annihilated. Two powerful French ſquadrons were to have joined to make a deſcent upon England; but their junction was prevented by a contrary wind. Tourville, with only forty four ſhips, was attacked by near an hundred of the enemy, yet he ſuſtained an action of ten hours before he yielded. The French being purſued two days, loſt fourteen large ſhips and the empire of the ſea. *Is Tourville ſafe?* ſaid the king, on hearing of the engagement; *as for the ſhips, we ſhall eaſily find more, but it is not eaſy to find ſuch an officer.* It was one of the beſt qualities of Louis, to honour merit, and animate the zeal of his ſervants.

Loſs of France.

Bombardments.

Dieppe, Havre, Saint Malo, Calais, and Dunkirk were bombarded by the Engliſh. What had the French got by inventing bomb-ketches? Their *infernal machine*, ſtill more dreadful

Infernal machine.

dreadful if it had ſucceeded, happily miſcarried. Though at a great diſtance, by its exploſion all the windows of Saint Malo were broken, a number of roofs thrown down, and the earth ſhaken to the diſtance of three leagues. France revenged herſelf for theſe bombardments upon Bruſſels, which belonged to Spain; ſo that, even in that polite age, war was ſtill accompanied with cruelties.

Expeditions into Aſia, America, &c.

It even reached to the extremities of the earth; for whereever the Europeans carried their admirable induſtry, their deſtructive animoſities were likewiſe to be found. The Dutch took Pondicherry from France, the Engliſh ravaged Saint Domingo, and the French laid waſte Jamaica. Pointis, who commanded a ſquadron, and joined the buccaneers, ſurpriſed Carthagena, where the Spaniards ſuſtained a loſs of twenty millions of livres. Duguai Trouin and John Bart, two captains of privateers deſerving of the higheſt military honours, deſtroyed the commerce of thoſe enemies who ruined that of France.

Creation of the electorate of Hanover.

A remarkable diviſion ſtarted up in the empire on the creation of a ninth electorate, in the year 1692, in favour of the duke of Brunſwick Lunenburg Hanover. The emperour had given him the inveſtiture, but the princes proteſted, and even entered into a league at Ratiſbon. If Leopold had not ſuſpended the effects of the inveſtiture in 1693, a great part of Germany would probably have turned their arms againſt him, inſtead of fighting againſt France.

This

Disturbances on that account.

This ninth electorate continued to be a ſubject of diſturbance till the reign of the emperour Joſeph, when, in the year 1708, the ſtates gave their conſent. We need not be ſurpriſed at the war going on but ſlowly on that ſide; the Germans were very inactive, and Louis carried his greateſt ſtrength into another quarter.

CHAP. II.

PEACE *of* RYSWICK *neceſſary to* LOUIS XIV. *though a Conqueror.*—PEACE *of* CARLOWITZ, *the Terms of which were dictated to the* TURKS.

War ruined France, though victorious.

THIS war, which was begun without neceſſity, and originated in the hatred Louis XIV. had drawn upon himſelf by the terrour he excited, and which he might have avoided, had he been ſatisfied with becoming the arbiter of Europe, was leſs to be aſcribed to his own diſpoſition, than to the deſpotick temper and violent counſels of his miniſter Louvois; but though crowned with victory, occaſioned infinite miſchief to the kingdom, and oppreſſions to the people. It was only ſupported by taxes and expedients ruinous to the nation; and the obſtinacy of the enemy made them decline a peace for which they ought earneſtly to have wiſhed. It became neceſſary to detach ſome of the members from the confederacy, and to divide thoſe, who, while united, continued inflexible; and at length the

Obſtinacy of the enemy.

pliant,

pliant, ambitious policy of Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, yielded to the views and intereſt of the court of France.

1696. Louis gains the duke of Savoy.

He was gained by granting to him whatever he could deſire; the reſtitution of his dominions, Pignerol, (though razed to the ground) the honours of ſovereignty, four millions of money, and the marriage of his daughter with the young duke of Burgundy, ſon of the dauphin. This treaty was concluded by Catinat, to which Innocent XII. (Pignatelli) who was as favourable to France as his predeceſſor had been averſe from it, not a little contributed, by determining the duke of Savoy. What the pope had chiefly at heart was the tranquillity of Italy, and he wiſhed that it would remain neuter; but the allies having refuſed to conſent, Victor Amadeus joined Louis XIV.

Innocent XII. contributes to it.

1697. Negotiations and treaty of Ryſwick.

The grand alliance was the more diſconcerted by his defection, as Louis ſtill had four armies on foot; and the duke of Vendôme took Barcelona, after having defeated the Spaniards. The negotiations were carried on at Ryſwick, near the Hague, under the mediation of Sweden: That of the pope, which had been formerly refuſed for the peace of Nimeguen, was again rejected, and the court of Rome was deſtined to loſe all influence in the affairs of Europe. Four treaties, which were concluded towards the end of the year 1697, ſecured the general peace, the conditions of which ſeemed to be humiliating to Louis, though propoſed by him after gaining battles and making conqueſts.

That

France makes conceſſions, as if ſhe had been defeated.

That prince reſtored to Spain all that ſhe had loſt by the war, Luxemburg, Mons, Aeth, Courtrai, Barcelona, &c. with all that the chambers of Metz and Briſack had reunited to the royal domain. This was the ſole produce of theſe violent reunions! He acknowledged William as king of England, who was his perſonal enemy, and looked upon in France as a perfidious uſurper, whoſe ambition had kindled ſo fatal a flame. With regard to Holland, he adhered to the terms agreed on at Munſter and Nimeguen. To the empire he reſtored Kehl and Philipſburg, and to the emperour Friburg and Briſack: He conſented to raze the fortifications which had been erected beyond the Rhine, and abandoned the reunions which had been made out of Alſace; but inſiſted, that in thoſe places which had been reunited to the domain of the crown, the catholick religion ſhould be permitted to remain upon the ſame footing in which it was at that time; but the proteſtants with difficulty conſented.

Leopold duke of Lorraine, a great prince.

Laſt of all, he reſtored Leopold duke of Lorraine, the ſon of Charles V. but not before his towns were diſmantled. Though Leopold, if conſidered only as to the extent of his power, is but a little prince, yet when regarded with the eyes of wiſdom and humanity, he is great. Solely employed in effecting the happineſs of his ſubjects, he made them forget the miſeries of war, and thoſe which had been brought upon them by the abſence of their ſovereign; he procured them abundance, he introduced arts, learning,

learning, with all the bleſſings of nature and of an agreeable and peaceful ſociety. During ſeven hundred years of glory and ſovereignty, his illuſtrious family had not produced one prince ſo deſerving of praiſe. The following admirable expreſſion, which has been quoted—*I would reſign my crown tomorrow, if I could do no more good*, was the language of his ſentiments; ſentiments with which all who are inveſted with power ought to be inſpired.

Louis XIV. makes peace from neceſſity.

The peace of Ryſwick, compared with that of Nimeguen, where Louis dictated, excited the murmurs of a people elated with ſo many victories, who were provoked at ſeeing the fruits of their triumphs ſacrificed to the conquered. Some people greatly extolled the king's moderation; while others falſely imagined, that by his policy he hoped to pave the way for ſucceeding to the crown of Spain; but it is now known, that, having waked from the dreams of pride, he yielded to the real neceſſities of his ſubjects and of the kingdom.

Enormous expenſes of the war.

Ever ſince he had adopted the fatal cuſtom of keeping up armies, much more numerous than formerly, the expenſes of the war had been enormous. And what was gained by this cuſtom, but to ruin himſelf, while he forced the enemy to ruin themſelves, by obliging them to increaſe the number of their troops in proportion to thoſe of France? The five firſt campaigns had coſt more than two hundred millions extraordinary; ſo that the finances ſunk into the former confuſion. For fear of exciting a general diſcontent, by increaſing the

Management of the revenue.

taxes,

taxes, with which the people were already oppreſſed, recourſe was had to loans, to the erecting of new offices, and thoſe temporary expedients, which infallibly produce a laſting evil, by increaſing the publick debt. The value of the ſilver mark in coin had been increaſed three livres in 1689; which operation did a conſiderable injury to commerce, and while the kingdom was impoveriſhed, the royal revenue ſenſibly diminiſhed. In 1695, the capitation, a new tax, was eſtabliſhed; and though they thereby raiſed twenty one millions, yet the revenue of this year did not exceed the former more than ten millions. It is then evident that war, though accompanied with the greateſt ſucceſs, expoſed France to the utmoſt miſery. Such is the effect of habit, eſpecially in princes, that they reject the leſſons of experience; and the ſituation of the kingdom did not prevent Louis from ſquandering millions on new buildings.

Capitation eſtabliſhed.

New building continued.

John Sobieſki dying in 1696, the throne of Poland became vacant during the negotiations of Ryſwick. The abbé (ſince cardinal) de Polignack, famous for his Anti Lucretius, was at that time ambaſſadour in Poland, and ſucceeded ſo as to make the election fall upon the prince of Conti, whoſe valour had been ſignalized at the battles of Steenkirk and Nerwinden. In two hours after, another party proclaimed Frederick Auguſtus elector of Saxony, who had the advantage of being in the neighbourhood, and poſſeſſed of money. Louis XIV. certainly was not in a ſituation to carry the war into that country, and gave the prince of Conti ſuch ſlender

The prince of Conti choſen king of Poland.

ſlender aſſiſtance, that he was not able even to penetrate into Dantzick. The Poles united in favour of the German prince, who paid dear for their crown.

The money of Saxony carries it.

The peace of Carlowitz, which was concluded with the Turks in 1699, is a very remarkable epocha, both for its humbling the enemies of the chriſtian name, and reſtoring general tranquillity to Europe. From the ſiege of Vienna, with the aſſiſtance of the Poles, Ruſſians, and particularly the Venetians, the emperour Leopold had maintained a conſtant ſuperiority over the Turks. Prince Eugene of Savoy, who was afterwards ſo formidable to France, defeated them at the battle of Zanta in 1695, where they loſt more than twenty thouſand men. Their army was commanded by the ſultan Muſtapha II. who was depoſed ſome time after the peace of Carlowitz, which brought upon him the hatred and contempt of his people.

Superiority of the emperour over the Turks.

Battle of Zanta.

Peace of Carlowitz.

By this treaty the porte yielded Tranſilvania to the emperour, which was a principality always acknowledged independent, though under the protection of the Turk. According to the abbé Mably, it therefore could neither be given nor acquired in that manner. "But ſince that "time, as he obſerves, the court of Vienna has "acquired the moſt lawful title to Tranſilva-"nia; this province loves the government un-"der which it lives, and has given to its maſters "unequivocal proofs of its ſentiments." *(Droit public de l'Europe.)* The boundaries of both powers are determined; and it was agreed, that neither ſhall grant an aſylum to the diſcontented ſubjects

Tranſilvania yielded to Auſtria.

jects of the other; which excludes the Hungarians from a place of refuge, in case of rebellion. It was likewise settled, that those people of Hungary or Transilvania who had quitted their country during the late war, should be debarred from returning.

Cessions made to Poland;

With regard to Poland, the Turk restored Kaminieck, and gave up all pretensions to Podolia and the Ukraine; and the Neister, which separates Moldavia from Podolia, was made the boundary between their territories.

the Morea to Venice.

He yielded all the Morea (Peloponnesus) and some islands to Venice. Venice had since lost the Morea by the peace of Passarowitz, in 1718, where the court of Vienna gained the Bannat of Tamesvaer and a part of Walachia.

Azoph to czar Peter.

The czar Peter only concluded a truce of two years at Carlowitz; however, he got possession of Azoph upon the Palus Meotis, an important place, which might procure him the command of the Black Sea. That prince and his rival Charles XII. began a war in 1700, that continued eighteen years, to which we must direct our attention; but the details I am to give of the transactions of these two extraordinary men, would in this place break the chain of our ideas, by making us lose sight of the affairs of the south of Europe; I shall therefore defer them to a more convenient opportunity.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Partition Treaty for the Succeſſion of SPAIN.—LAST WILL *and Death of* CHARLES II.—*He is ſucceeded by* PHILIP V. *and the* WAR *breaks out in* ITALY.

The ſucceſſion of Spain a great object of political attention.

THE ſucceſſion to the king of Spain, Charles II. a prince equally weak in body and mind, on the point of dying without children, was a great ſubject of diſquiet and political intrigue. According to the rights of conſanguinity, none but the imperial or French families could have any title. It was entirely inconſiſtent with the ſyſtem of a balance of power, to permit the exceſſive growth of a potentate who might unite ſo many ſtates in the ſame perſon, already in poſſeſſion of other crowns: But how was it poſſible to prevent the ſtorms and wars which were foreſeen?

Melancholy ſituation of Charles II.

The ſituation of the unhappy Charles, according to the idea of M. de Voltaire, was like that of a rich old man dying without children. "His wife, his relations, the prieſts and notaries, whoſe buſineſs it is to receive the laſt "will of dying perſons, beſet him on all ſides "to wreſt from him a word in their favour. "Some of the heirs agree to ſhare the ſpoil, "while others prepare to diſpute them." An anecdote which has not been taken notice of by this hiſtorian, but is to be found in the memoirs of the marquis de Saint Philip, ſerves better to ſhew the melancholy ſituation of that dying

Surpriſing intrigues employed to gain an aſcendant over his mind.

dying king. To remove ſome people from about his perſon who had gained his confidence, he was perſuaded that he had been bewitched, and from thence his diſorders and misfortunes proceeded; and that he would find his cure in the exorciſms of the church. His confeſſor, father Dias, a Dominican, was the life of this intrigue, and was ſeconded by cardinal Portocarrero and the grand inquiſitor. Having got the aſcendant over Charles, they cauſed him to be exorciſed, and the dreadful ceremony weakened his head ſtill more. The confeſſor was diſgraced, but Portocarrero became miniſter. In this manner were the affairs of Spain conducted.

First partition treaty.

In the mean time, king William of England, who was always attentive to the balance of power in Europe, had conceived or adopted a ſtrange project for maintaining that equilibrium of which he was ſo jealous; and a partition of the Spaniſh monarchy, even without the knowledge of its king, was the means to be employed. Louis XIV. concluded a treaty with England and Holland in 1698, by which Spain, and all her poſſeſſions in America, were to be ſecured to the electoral prince of Bavaria, who was then an infant; the kingdom of the two Sicilies, the province of Guipuſcoa, Final, and ſome other cities, to the dauphin; and the dutchy of Milan to the archduke Charles, ſecond ſon of the emperour. Louis renounced the ſucceſſion, but acquired conſiderable dominions.

Charles being provoked, makes his will.

A treaty ſo oppoſite to the rights of the king, and the natural order of things, provoked the

court

court of Madrid, and not without reaſon. It was chiefly afraid of having the monarchy diſmembered; and the king not daring to appoint a prince of his own family to be his heir, made a will in favour of his grand nephew, the young prince of Bavaria, who died almoſt immediately after at Bruſſels; upon which the diſquiets and intrigues were renewed, and a new treaty of partition was the conſequence.

1700. Second partition treaty.

By this treaty, which was concluded between the ſame powers as the former, Spain and the Weſtindies, which were formerly aſſigned to the Bavarian prince, were to fall to the lot of the archduke Charles, the Milaneſe to the duke of Lorraine, and Lorraine to be added to the ſhare of the dauphin: So that the ſucceſſion of a living monarch was diſpoſed of for the ſecond time. Why was not ſuch an important buſineſs, upon which the ſolidity of the peace depended, ſettled at Ryſwick? Probably, even at that time, they perceived ſome almoſt unſurmountable difficulties; or, from their impatience to get the peace concluded, neglected the future for the ſake of the preſent; a fault very common, even among politicians.

The court of Vienna diſguſts the Spaniards.

If the emperour would have conſented to this treaty, his ſon would have been king of Spain; but he refuſed it, in hopes of the whole ſucceſſion, and loſt all by that refuſal. The truth was, Charles being exceſſively irritated at this new partition, made choice of the archduke; but the court of Vienna, which could not be too ſolicitous to pleaſe him, gave him numberleſs cauſes of diſguſt. He demanded ten thouſand

ſand men, but they were refuſed by the emperour: The archduke ſpoke of the Spaniards in reproachful terms, and theſe expreſſions were carried thither; but, on the contrary, the marquis d'Harcourt, the French ambaſſadour at Madrid, made himſelf beloved, diſpelled the prejudices they entertained againſt the French, and conducted matters ſo ſkilfully, that the idea of having a king of that nation no longer terrified its rival.

The marquis d'Harcourt makes himſelf beloved.

In the mean time, the weak Charles accommodated matters with Leopold, who had recalled his ambaſſadour; upon which Louis recalled the marquis d'Harcourt, ſent ſome troops towards the frontiers of Spain, and every thing appeared as if they were upon the eve of a war. Cardinal Portocarrero, with the council of ſtate, was of opinion that the family of France ſhould be preferred to that of Auſtria. Both lawyers and divines, conſulted upon this important affair, concurred in thinking that nothing was more juſt. Even pope Innocent XII. was conſulted; and he anſwered, that the laws of Spain, and the good of Chriſtendom, dictated to him to take that meaſure. The dying monarch then made his will, bequeathing the whole monarchy to the duke d'Anjou, the dauphin's ſecond ſon; and, failing the younger branches of the family of France, to the archduke Charles, youngeſt ſon of the emperour; but upon condition, that the empire and Spain muſt never be united under the ſame ſovereign: And, laſtly, failing theſe princes, to the duke of Savoy. Charles died ſome months after, at the age of thirty nine.

The Spaniſh council favour France.

Laſt will and death of Charles II.

It

It is certain that France had the right of consanguinity. Louis XIV. who was related in the ſame degree with Leopold, was the ſon of the elder, and the dauphin was grandſon of Philip IV. from whom the children of Leopold were not deſcended. It is likewiſe certain, that the renunciation of Maria Thereſa, the wife of Louis XIV. was principally intended to prevent the two crowns from being united under one ſovereign, and loſt its effect when the union was obviated by the will of Charles. As alſo, that the voice of the people of Spain ſhould have had ſome weight, though it has been ſo little regarded. And, laſt of all, it is abſolutely falſe, that Harcourt had dictated the will, ſince he had been ſix months gone from Spain, and all appearances were ſo oppoſite at the time of his departure.

The certain claims of the family of France.

That a prince of the houſe of Auſtria, a family which had waged almoſt continual war with France for two hundred years, ſhould cauſe the Spaniſh monarchy to deſcend to the Bourbons; that ſo great an event ſhould be the effect of trifling cauſes, peeviſhneſs, domeſtick broils, and court intrigues; that the laſt will of Charles II. almoſt a mere cypher during his life, ſhould produce this effect, notwithſtanding numberleſs obſtructions, is an extraordinary phenomenon, which ſhews the uncertainty of all political ſyſtems.

Events which we ſhould have thought impoſſible.

It has been a matter of diſpute, whether Louis XIV. ſhould have adhered to the laſt partition treaty, or accepted the will of the king of Spain. By the firſt, the crown of the

How Louis XIV. ſhould have acted.

two Sicilies, Lorraine, &c. were added to his dominions, and he might reckon upon the aſſiſtance of England and Holland againſt the emperour. By the ſecond, he expoſed himſelf to a general war for the eſtabliſhment of his grandſon. He aſſembled an extraordinary council, where the queſtion was debated: His diſpoſition prompted him to ſplendid enterpriſes, and he accepted the laſt will of Charles.

Inevitable difficulties on both ſides of the queſtion.

The abbé Mably maintains, that he choſe the worſt, though the Spaniards had called in the duke of Anjou, though they would not have admitted of a partition, and though the regency had given orders, if France did not accept the whole, to make an offer of the ſucceſſion to the archduke. The marquis de Torci, an able negotiator and ſecretary of ſtate, in his memoirs maintains a contrary opinion. There are ſtrong probabilities on both ſides, which leave the judgment in ſuſpenſe; and whether he accepted the will or adhered to the treaty, war was inevitable. It muſt be allowed, that England and Holland would never have proved faithful allies of France; on the contrary, is it not very probable that they ſoon would have been enemies? Would they not have taken the firſt opportunity of breaking the partition treaty, which made them murmur againſt William? Becauſe France, in fact, thereby gained too great an increaſe of power; too great, according to the common idea of politicks; for, in my opinion, the acquiſition of a kingdom in Italy muſt certainly have weakened the French monarchy. Laſt of all, whatever way he determined,

termined, the moſt violent oppoſition was to be expected; and if the king expoſed himſelf to the greateſt dangers, he at leaſt embraced a juſt cauſe.

Philip V. almoſt generally acknowledged.

Such was the aſtoniſhment of Europe at ſight of a prince of the family of Bourbon inheriting the dominions of Spain, that, except the emperour, all the powers remained for ſome time in perfect tranquillity. The duke of Anjou, by the name of Philip V. ſet out to take poſſeſſion of the crown; and his grandfather at parting from him ſaid—*There are no more Pyrennées.* He was acknowledged by the pope, the duke of Savoy, Venice, the northern potentates, even Portugal, England, and Holland. The elector of Bavaria, governour of the Low Countries, and his brother the elector of Cologne, were to be depended on; and the duke of Savoy, to whom Philip V. became ſon in law, as was already the duke of Burgundy, might be looked upon as a friend. The duke of Mantua received a French garriſon, and Louis taſted the moſt flattering ſatisfaction; but always preſuming upon his power, he did not as yet ſufficiently know the dreadful blows prepared againſt him by fortune.

Ill founded claims of the emperour.

The emperour Leopold alleged, in oppoſition to the will of Charles II. ſome agreements entered into between Charles V. and his brother the emperour Ferdinand I. to ſecure a reciprocal ſucceſſion to the two branches of the Auſtrian family; and likewiſe that the will of Philip IV. ſubſtituted the children of Leopold to Charles: As if the agreements of a family, or the arbitrary

will of a prince, could annihilate the laws of a kingdom. By the laws of Spain, the females were intitled to ſucceed before collateral males; and beſides, Charles II. had undoubtedly the ſame right to bequeath as Philip IV. and his will was agreeably to the laws of the kingdom. Did not the approbation of the people of Spain confirm it inviolably?

League with regard to Italy.

As the dominions of Spain in Italy might be conſidered in a different light, England and Holland entered into an alliance with the emperour, to ſeparate them from the principal inheritance. The views of the allies extended in proportion to the ſucceſs of their arms.

1701. Prince Eugene in Italy.

The war was begun in Italy before theſe maritime powers declared themſelves, and prince Eugene commanded the imperial army, conſiſting of thirty thouſand men. Though Venice was neuter, he penetrated through the diſtrict of Trent. Catinat, reſtrained by orders from court, and badly obeyed by ſome general officers, did not obſtruct him on his paſſage, but retreated before the enemy till he got on the other ſide the Oglio, and the Milaneſe was expoſed to danger. Mareſchal de Villeroi was

Catinat replaced by Villeroi.

ſent to replace Catinat; this was a courtier, inſtead of a general. Villeroi, by his inſolence, diſguſted the duke of Savoy, perhaps already inclined to betray France, and imprudently at-

Battle of Chiari.

tacked prince Eugene at Chiari; where he was defeated, notwithſtanding the efforts of the duke, who expoſed himſelf to every danger, as did Catinat likewiſe, who fought his death in an action of which he foreſaw the conſequences.

They

They were ſo fatal, that this firſt campaign prognoſticated an unfortunate iſſue of the war.

This was the beginning of thoſe evils which Prince Eugene was to bring upon France, his native country. He was ſon of the count de Soiſſons (of the houſe of Savoy) governour of Champagne, and of madame Mancini, one of cardinal Mazarin's nieces. Being ſlighted at court in his youth, he went to ſerve the emperour againſt the Turks, and bid an eternal adieu to France. The king ſeemed at that time to treat him with diſdain, and the courtiers ſpoke of him with the utmoſt contempt. How ill founded and dangerous are haſty judgments, eſpecially in courts! Eugene has ſhewn himſelf one of the greateſt men in the world; he humbled Louis, in recompenſe for his inſults, and made France tremble, as we ſhall have too frequent occaſion to mention.

Account of P. Eugene.

He was deſpiſed in France.

With more penetration and reflection, it would have been poſſible to diſcover in him that luminous underſtanding and vigour of ſoul which raiſe a man above the level of his ſpecies: It would have been foreſeen, that by alienating him he might be converted into a dangerous enemy; whereas, by proper attention, he would make a faithful friend: In a word, it would have been judged, that the more ſuperiour merit was becoming rare, the more eſſential it was to ſecure thoſe in whom it was to be found, though only in embryo. Even modeſt merit has a certain pride, becauſe it feels its own ſtrength; and when an opportunity offers, what advantage may it not take of thoſe from whom it has received an affront!

How neceſſary it is to pay reſpect to merit.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

LOUIS XIV. *gives the Title of* KING *to the Son of* JAMES II.—*King* WILLIAM *arms* ENGLAND *and* HOLLAND.—*Death of* WILLIAM III.—GENERAL WAR.—*Revolt of the* CEVENNES.

1701. Louis gives the title of king of England to the ſon of James II.

THE war was yet but a ſingle ſpark, when Louis afforded a pretence to the allies of the emperour to kindle a general conflagration. James II. dying at St. Germain, he gave the title of king to his ſon, after having agreed in council not to take this dangerous ſtep. The widow of James, and madame de Maintenon, whom Louis had married privately in 1686, by flattering his natural magnanimity, obtained from him what prudence ſeemed to condemn. It was a bad ſign to ſee two women, the one overwhelmed in ſorrow, the other a devotee, inſpiring the monarch with devotion, and ſuddenly overturning the unanimous deliberation of a council of ſtate.

This proceeding provoked the Engliſh.

The Engliſh might have found a pretence for taking up arms independent of that provocation, but their animoſity would have been leſs keen and leſs obſtinate; they probably would not have employed ſuch efforts, or ſacrificed their real intereſt to inveterate hatred. They contradicted and diſturbed William, but from that moment they teſtified the greateſt zeal to ſerve him; and in vain did the king of France proteſt, that he would faithfully adhere to the treaty of Ryſwick. They thought themſelves

inſulted,

inſulted, the nation loudly exclaimed, and William knew admirably how to profit by circumſtances. The commons undertook to maintain forty thouſand men, and inſiſted, that the war ſhould not be concluded, until the nation had received a ſignal reparation for the inſult. A bill of attainder was paſſed againſt the pretender James, a proſcription, ſubjecting him to capital puniſhment.

1702. Death of king William.

William, though infirm, gave life to the whole; and having made immenſe preparations, intended to command in perſon, when a fall from his horſe brought on a fever which occaſioned his death, at the age of fifty two. Churchill, then earl and afterwards duke of Marlborough, whom he had ſent into Holland in the double capacity of general and negotiator, a man of ſuperiour genius in both, did honour to his choice, by ſharing with Eugene in the glory of humbling France.

His authority in Holland.

Before we purſue the military operations, it will be proper to conſider ſome circumſtances of the reign of William. It was not without reaſon he was called the king of the Hollanders and the ſtadtholder of the Engliſh; ſo much did the love and confidence of the firſt make him maſter of the republick, while the antipathy and diſtruſt of the ſecond reſtrained his authority in England. Holland raiſed ſeven millions of florins for his expedition to England; and the Engliſh commonly oppoſed his deſires, when they were not ſupported by national hatred againſt France. The following remarkable

ble facts are of importance in the Engliſh government.

How much he was reſtrained by the Engliſh.

He could not be pleaſed, as I formerly obſerved, with expoſing to the examination of the commons, the uſes to which he dedicated a conſiderable part of the money which they granted to him, though a neceſſary precaution in ſuch a form of government. They prevented him from eſtabliſhing a toleration, which muſt have been an advantage to the nation; they even refuſed the naturalization of foreign proteſtants, becauſe they were nonconformiſts; it therefore did not take place till the following reign. To obtain ſupplies, in 1694, he gave his conſent to a bill which limited the duration of parliament to three years. Corruption was become ſo dreadful, that this limitation was judged neceſſary for the preſervation of liberty; the court purchaſed votes; and what could it not do, if the parliament ſold themſelves, and could prolong their exiſtence during their own pleaſure?

Triennial parliament.

Vexations which William ſuffered in England.

In 1696, a conſpiracy againſt the king was diſcovered, upon which the greateſt zeal was ſhewn for the ſafety of his perſon; the two houſes entered into an aſſociation to defend him, and ſupport his government; but after the treaty of Ryſwick, in 1697, they left him only ten thouſand men of the army which he wanted to have kept up: In 1699, that number was even reduced to ſeven thouſand, and he was obliged to diſmiſs his Dutch guards, which penetrated him with ſincere ſorrow. Invectives againſt the famous partition treaties, and the accuſations

which

which were brought againſt his miniſters, poiſoned the peace of his laſt days. The generous imprudence of Louis XIV. with regard to the pretender, alone put an end to theſe dangerous ſtorms. In a word, with leſs phlegm and ſlenderer abilities, with leſs regard for liberty and the laws of the nation, William, perhaps, could not have maintained himſelf upon the throne.

Queen Anne.

He left no children; queen Mary had been ſome time dead, and her ſiſter Anne, the wife of prince George of Denmark, was joyfully acknowledged, according to the order of ſucceſſion eſtabliſhed by parliament. Queen Anne, at her acceſſion, was thirty ſeven years of age, virtuous, prudent, a friend to the laws and to her country, and ſhewed herſelf deſerving the love and veneration of her people. In France they vainly flattered themſelves with the hope, that the death of the formidable William would change the political ſyſtem; but there was not any alteration: Marlborough confirmed the Dutch in the league which was formed againſt Louis; war was declared againſt that monarch upon various pretences, and the ſucceſs very ſoon ſurpaſſed the hopes of the allies.

Every thing preſages a reverſe in France.

The greater the confidence which Louis placed in his ſtrength and knowledge, he was the more expoſed to a reverſe of fortune. His diſordered finances were put into the hands of Chamillard, an old counſellor of the parliament, an honeſt man, but deſtitute of abilities, yet appointed miniſter of the war department. He was the creature of madame de Maintenon. This woman, though poſſeſſed of abilities and good intentions,

Madame de Maintenon; Chamillard.

intentions, was led too much by prejudice; and the king, now in the decline of life, ſhut up with her, no longer inſpired that ardour and activity which had formerly produced ſuch wonders: He wanted that every thing ſhould be regulated in the cabinet, and the generals to obey his orders, rather than to conſult their own genius and the circumſtances. Military diſcipline, of which Louvois was the ſoul, had languiſhed from the time of his death, and was daily more and more enervated. Young men ſhone at the head of regiments, which ſhould have been commanded by men of abilities; and, in a word, neither the government, nor miniſtry, nor army, nor the ſtate of the nation, anſwered to the ſucceſsful years of this reign. When the principal ſprings of a kingdom are weakened, every thing wears out, and ſinks into decay.

Eugene and Marlborough.

On the contrary, the army of the enemy was commanded by two great generals, Marlborough and Eugene, who were not leſs able politicians, at liberty to guide the operations of the campaign, leading the counſels of their ſovereigns, having the treaſures of England and Holland at their diſpoſal; and, what is ſtill more remarkable, acting together in perfect concert. A Turenne and a Condé, who would not have been ſubjected to the narrow views of a Chamillard, were wanted to oppoſe them.

1702. Villeroi ſurpriſed in Cremona.

Prince Eugene was in Italy, and had already arrived in the neighhourhood of Cremona, where Villeroi was without any apprehenſion; and in the month of February, under cover of the night, cauſed part of his army to enter the town through

through an aqueduct. He very ſoon got admittance himſelf; when Villeroi was waked by the noiſe of the muſketry, and coming out of his houſe was taken priſoner. If a French regiment had not accidentally been under arms preparing for a review, (ſo well had prince Eugene taken his meaſures) Cremona muſt have inevitably fallen; but that regiment oppoſed him till the garriſon had time to get under arms, and the imperaliſts were at laſt obliged to retire.

Succeeded by Vendôme.

The duke de Vendôme, grandſon of Henry IV. was ſent to ſucceed Villeroi. He was a man of genius and courage, of great abilities in the day of action, though in other reſpects very deficient in prudence, and particularly negligent of diſcipline, but adored by his ſoldiers, who thought themſelves invincible under his command; ſo that Vendôme frequently fought with more honour than advantage. After the bloody battle of Luzara, both parties ſung *Te Deum*. It is ſufficient to remark, with M. de Voltaire, that Vendôme was always conqueror, except when he had to contend againſt prince Eugene.

The duke of Burgundy in Flanders.

The young duke of Burgundy, guided by mareſchal de Boufflers, did not ſucceed in Flanders. Marlborough, who had learnt the art of war under Turenne, and poſſeſſed the coolneſs and abilities of that hero, continued to advance without hazarding a battle. He took Venlo, Ruremonde, and Liege, and the reputation of the French arms was already upon the decline.

Allies of Leopold in Germany.

At firſt, however, ſhe kept her ground in Germany; Leopold had engaged the circles of Auſtria,

Auſtria, Suabia, Franconia, the Upper and Lower Rhine, in the alliance, and had chiefly gained Frederick elector of Brandenburg, in whoſe favour he had erected the dutchy of Pruſſia into a kingdom. The imperial army was commanded by the prince of Baden, who had made himſelf famous by his exploits againſt the Turks, and having taken Landau, gave room to be apprehenſive for Alſace, where Catinat then was, who did not think he could venture to attack him. The marquis de Villars, a lieutenant-general, more bold, and an excellent officer, but a bad courtier, was reſolved, by the performance of great actions, to extort a reward, and obtained permiſſion to engage the imperialiſts, whom he defeated and purſued at Fridlingen, and was honoured with the ſtaff of a mareſchal.

First king of Pruſſia.

Villars conqueror at Fridlingen.

1703. Battles of Hochſtet and Spires.

Having joined the elector of Bavaria the next year, he in ſome degree obliged the elector to attack an army of twenty thouſand men, who were on their march to reinforce the prince of Baden at Hochſtet, near Donawert. The imperialiſts were defeated, the elector took poſſeſſion of Augſburgh, and Vienna was in danger. The mareſchal de Tallard likewiſe gained a victory at Spires over the prince of Heſſe, who afterwards aſcended the throne of Sweden. He wrote to Louis XIV.—*Your army has taken more colours and ſtandards than it has loſt private ſoldiers.* He took Landau from the enemy, but the ſucceſſes of France were drawing to a period.

The

Defection of the duke of Savoy,

The duke of Savoy, diſſatisfied, and guided by ſelf intereſt, ſuddenly changed ſides, as he had done the former war: He gave up the cauſe of his two ſons in law, and ſold himſelf to the emperour, who promiſed him Montferrat, Alexandria, Valencia, &c. While he was making this bargain, France was informed of his infidelity, and the duke of Vendôme had time to diſarm five thouſand of his men, who were ſtill joined to the French army. Sufficient attention had not been paid to the duke; beſides, he would have done any thing for his own aggrandizement.

and of the king of Portugal.

Peter II. king of Portugal, brother of Alphonſo VI. whom he had long ſince dethroned, in the ſame manner betrayed the king of Spain, to obtain a diſmemberment of that kingdom, which had been promiſed to him before he entered his dominions. The emperour and his eldeſt ſon, Joſeph king of the Romans, yielded their claims to the Spaniſh monarchy in favour of the archduke Charles. Charles went to England and Holland, where the armaments were preparing.

Villars imprudently recalled.

Another ſource of misfortunes was the recalling of the mareſchal de Villars. His carriage was ſo imperious; his blunt temper, which made him an enemy to fawning, was ſo diſguſting to the elector of Bavaria, that that prince imprudently required another general, though he could not hope for one ſo good. Villars, who was calculated for important expeditions, was ſent to fight againſt the fanaticks of the Cevennes,

Cevennes, a ſet of poor mountaineers who had occaſioned ſome diſturbance.

Fanaticiſm and rebellion in the Cevennes.

One conſequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantz, was the reviving of fanaticiſm with its former rage; and the zeal of theſe wretched people was rekindled by the return of ſome of their fugitive clergy, which produced a rebellion. Some prophets and propheteſſes (for ſo they were called) ſtarted up among them, whoſe extravagances ſet all in a flame. To free themſelves from tyranny, or to gain the palm of martyrdom, was what the rebels, known by the name of *Camiſards*, propoſed. The war cry was—*No taxes, and liberty of conſcience.* The more they ſuffered, the greater was their inveteracy. The aſſiſtance they expected from the allies, eſpecially from Savoy, kept up their inſolence. The frightful mountains, from whence they ruſhed like wild beaſts, afforded them an aſylum where they could ſcarcely be forced; while the troops were engaged by foreign enemies. They had been fruitleſsly purſued by the mareſchal de Montrevel; but the mareſchal de Villars thought it was better to treat with one of their chiefs, a young baker, to whom a brevet of colonel was given, and who afterwards entered into the ſervice of England: However, the rebels did not ſubmit; but when Villars reſumed the command of the army, they were reduced and almoſt exterminated by the mareſchal de Berwick. How often ſhould Louis XIV. have reflected, that by inſpiring ſuch hatred in a part of his ſubjects whom he perſecuted,

Mareſchals of France, who had carried on the war againſt theſe mountaineers.

cuted, he had done great injury to himſelf, without ſerving the cauſe of religion!

CHAP. V.

MISFORTUNES *of* FRANCE *and* SPAIN, *from* 1704 *to* 1710.—*Almoſt all Hope at an End.*

THE different theatres of the war, even Italy, where Vendôme continued ſucceſsful, very ſoon changed their appearance, and the moſt ſplendid proſperity was ſucceeded by the greateſt misfortunes. Of all the leſſons which hiſtory furniſhes to ambitious princes, there is not one ſo proper as this to diſpel the intoxication of ſucceſs.

Dangers of the emperour Leopold.

It was imagined that the emperour was on the eve of being dethroned; Paſſaw had already fallen into the hands of the elector of Bavaria; the victorious French and Bavarians might have eaſily laid ſiege to Vienna; and Leopold was at the ſame time at war with the Hungarians, who complained of new oppreſſions, and having rebelled, put themſelves under the command of prince Ragotzi. But Villars was unſucceſsful in Germany; Marlborough had already taken poſſeſſion of Bon, Hui, and Limbourg, and was advancing ſpeedily to the aſſiſtance of the emperour. Villeroi being ſet at liberty, commanded the army in Flanders, and followed Marlborough, but very ſoon loſt ſight of him. The Engliſh general forced the intrenchments near

Marlborough and Eugene in Germany.

near Donawert, took that city, and paſſed the Danube, where he was joined by prince Eugene, their two armies forming a body of fifty two thouſand men againſt ſixty thouſand.

1704. Battle of Hochſtet, or Blenheim.

On the ſame plain where Villars defeated the imperialiſts in 1703, was fought the famous battle of Hochſtet, or Blenheim, which was followed by moſt fatal diſaſters. The mareſchals Tallard and Marſin, with the elector of Bavaria, commanded. Twelve capital faults, of which they were accuſed, may be ſeen in the memoirs of that rigid cenſor of generals M. de Feuquieres. Undoubtedly they committed ſome very great ones, ſince Villars, who was then at the extremity of the Cevennes, on hearing their diſpoſitions, foretold the event. The ſuperiority of the generals of the enemy was a ſufficiently bad omen.

Dreadful defeat followed by heavy loſſes.

Marlborough penetrated the wing of the army commanded by Tallard, who, being near ſighted, threw himſelf into the middle of one of the enemy's ſquadrons, where he was taken priſoner. Eugene, after being three times repulſed, routed all who oppoſed him; when the elector and Marſin retreated, without thinking of twelve thouſand men of the beſt troops of France, who were ſhut up in the village of Blenheim; and this ſmall army, from its ſituation, was obliged to ſurrender without coming to an engagement. The Danube and the field of battle were covered with dead; and after the action the French army could ſcarcely collect twenty thouſand men. A hundred leagues of country were ſuddenly loſt; Bavaria fell a prey to

to the Auſtrians, while the elector ſaved himſelf by flying to Bruſſels. Alſace was invaded, Landau and Trarbach taken by the imperialiſts, and Marlborough made himſelf maſter of Treves.

Death of Leopold.

Amidſt theſe victories, in 1705, died the emperour Leopold, a prince of a weak character, always guided, yet always deſirous to appear abſolute. His miniſters, by repreſenting Louis XIV. every where as an odious and formidable enemy, had almoſt rendered him maſter of the whole power of the empire; and from thence came the aſſociation of the circles, and thoſe armies of more than ſixty thouſand men, which were ſeen on the banks of the Rhine. Joſeph I. the eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor of Leopold, being of an enterpriſing genius, and capable of acting for himſelf, took care to profit by this advantage. He immediately proſcribed the two electors of Bavaria and Cologne, who had been ſtripped of their dominions, and gave a principality of the empire to Marlborough, upon whom queen Anne and the Engliſh parliament laviſhed more flattering recompenſes.

Joſeph I. his ſucceſſor.

Critical ſituation of Philip V.

Philip V. was already tottering on the throne of Spain; and though the bulk of the nation was for him, yet there was a great number of factious traitors in the different provinces, and his court was diſtracted by intrigues. Cardinal Portocarrero and Arias, the chief members of the ſecret council, were diſgraced. The princeſs of Urſini, (of the family of Tremouille) with ſome Frenchmen, engroſſed his favour; and

The princeſs of Urſini.

ſhe changed the miniſtry as ſhe pleaſed. Louis XIV. having ſoon after recalled her, ſhe was permitted to return, at the earneſt intreaties of Philip, who could not bear her abſence. This capricious woman continued a long time to have too great an influence over the affairs of ſtate, and the Spaniards had great room to complain of her; but the king was of a mild and virtuous diſpoſition.

Attempts in favour of the archduke Charles.

England and Holland being reſolved to dethrone him, made incredible efforts in favour of the archduke, who in raillery was called *Charles, by the grace of hereticks, catholick king*. So great was the deteſtation of hereſy in Portugal and Spain, that ſuch protectors neceſſarily brought an odium on the party whoſe cauſe they eſpouſed; however, they almoſt ſucceeded, and the Engliſh in a particular manner ſignalized themſelves in the attempt.

Conqueſts by the Engliſh in Spain.

After having conveyed the archduke Charles into Portugal, in the year 1704 they took Gibraltar; of which they have ever ſince kept poſſeſſion. Next year they reduced the provinces of Valencia and Catalonia. Two fruitleſs attempts of France, the one againſt Gibraltar, and the other againſt Barcelona, almoſt totally ruined that formidable marine which had been eſtabliſhed by Louis XIV. There were ſtill ſome hopes, but they all ſoon vaniſhed.

1706. Villeroi defeated by Marlborough at R illies.

Villeroi, who was always honoured with the confidence of Louis, which he merited on every account rather than that of general, flattered himſelf that, with an army of fourſcore thou-

ſand

ſand men in Flanders, he would wipe away the ſtains of his reputation. Contrary to the opinion of his generals, he reſolved to riſk an engagement; and his diſpoſitions were made againſt all the rules of military ſcience. The battle of Ramillies, which was fought near the Mehaigne, proved a moſt diſgraceful overthrow for the French, who were defeated in half an hour by Marlborough, when they loſt twenty thouſand men, and almoſt all Spaniſh Flanders. Louis having ſpared to reproach Villeroi, is undoubtedly worthy of admiration. *Mareſchal*, ſaid the king on ſeeing him, *Fortune does not ſmile upon men of our age*: But the people did not leſs lament the diſaſters occaſioned by favour being miſplaced, and as faults multiplied, misfortunes increaſed.

Vendôme ſhould have been left in Italy, ſince he carried on a difficult war with great glory. He repulſed prince Eugene at the battle of Caſſano, near the Adda, in 1705, and had newly gained a complete victory over another general at Caſſinato; laſt of all, he obliged prince Eugene to retire into the country of Trent to wait a reinforcement, and was preparing to give the laſt blow to the duke of Savoy, by taking the capital of Piedmont. During theſe tranſactions, Vendôme was deſtined to replace Villeroi in the Low Countries. The duke de la Feuillade, ſon in law of the miniſter Chamillard, who was anxious to raiſe him to the higheſt honours, was charged with the ſiege of Turin; and this new choice of court favour proved a freſh ſource of misfortunes.

Vendôme victorious in Italy.

He was deſtined to command in Flanders.

Prepara-tions for the ſiege of Tu-rin.

The author of *The Age of Louis* XIV. gives a curious detail of the preparations for this ſiege. "One hundred battalions and forty "ſix ſquadrons, a hundred and forty pieces of "cannon, a hundred and ten thouſand balls, "twenty one thouſand bombs, about twenty "eight thouſand grenades, &c. It is certain that "the expenſe of theſe preparations for deſtruc-"tion would have been ſufficient to ſettle one "of the moſt numerous colonies, and to have "put it into a flouriſhing condition. Every "ſiege of a great town requires theſe immenſe "expenſes, and when a ruined village ought "to be repaired at home, it is neglected." I ſhould be glad frequently to copy ſuch reflec-tions, though they ſhould only produce a ſenti-ment of compaſſion on the fate of mankind.

Faults of la Feuillade at that ſiege.

To judge of the conduct of the duke de la Feuillade, it is enough to be informed, that, when the mareſchal de Vauban offered to direct the operations of the ſiege in quality of engineer, the duke rejected his offer with diſdain. By his manner of attacking Turin, he made it be-lieved that he did not intend the place ſhould be taken; at leaſt, ſuch an incredible report was greatly ſpread, and after ſome ill concerted at-tacks he had made no progreſs in the ſiege. The duke of Savoy ſallied out of the town, and eſcaped; prince Eugene advanced to his aſſiſt-ance, and had time to force every obſtruction.

P. Eugene advances, and joins the duke of Savoy.

Even in preſence of Vendôme, who was al-ready appointed to the command in Flanders, and, becauſe he was on the eve of ſetting out, was perhaps more negligent than uſual, Eugene paſſed

passed the Adige, the White Canal, and likewise the Po. The duke of Orleans, to whom Vendôme gave up the command of the army, not being able to prevent the junction of the imperialists with the duke of Savoy near Asti, set out to join la Feuillade before Turin. If the duke of Orleans had commanded in chief, he would have marched to meet the enemy rather than wait for them in the lines; but an order from court, with which Marsin was intrusted, contrary to his own opinion, overruled the intention of the prince; and, to obey their instructions from court, they were exposed to the greatest misfortunes.

Defeat at Turin.

In two hours the lines were forced, the French dispersed, their baggage, ammunition, military chest, &c. all fell into the hands of the enemy. Marsin died of his wounds; the duke of Orleans, who was likewise wounded, retreated towards Pignerol. Though no more than two thousand men fell in the battle, all the French possessed in Italy was lost; Piedmont, the Milanese, Modena, Mantua, and even the kingdom of Naples. By retiring under the walls of Casal, they might have had some resource. Two days after the defeat at Turin, the count de Medavi gained a complete victory over the prince of Hesse at Castiglioné, but it was attended with no consequences. To save these victorious troops, it was found necessary to capitulate, and the whole country was abandoned to the emperour; all these losses were the fruit of a first errour.

The

The ſiege of Barcelona likewiſe raiſed.

The affairs of Spain ſeemed equally deſperate. The ſiege of Barcelona, where Philip V. aſſiſted in perſon, was not more fortunate than that of Turin. They imagined they were on the point of taking the place, when the count de Toulouſe, a natural ſon of Louis XIV. and admiral in chief, who blocked up the port, was obliged to retreat before an Engliſh ſquadron. At the ſame time an eclipſe of the ſun happened, with which the Spaniards were as much terrified as in the days of ignorance; the mareſchal de Teſſé ſpeedily raiſed the ſiege, and left immenſe quantities of proviſions to fall into the hands of the Engliſh, and the whole provinces of the kingdom were filled with diſmay. They penetrated even to Madrid, and cauſed the archduke to be proclaimed. It was believed in France, that Philip muſt have gone to eſtabliſh his power in America, which was a project of the famous Vauban; but what could he have done without a naval power?

The archduke proclaimed at Madrid.

Fidelity and zeal of the Caſtilians.

He ſtill found a reſource in the virtue of the Caſtilians, who continued faithful to their king, and were provoked at an attempt to impoſe another upon them: Being delighted with the courage and merit of the young queen, they diſplayed all the zeal of an intrepid people animated with deſpair. Biſhops, prieſts, monks, peaſants, women, and even children, joined in the patriotick enthuſiaſm, and ſignalized themſelves by bold actions, ſo that the capital was very ſoon recovered; where Philip was received with tranſports of joy, and every one was anx-

ious

ious to contribute to his aſſiſtance. The mareſchal de Berwick, natural ſon of James II. defeated the enemy at Almanza, upon the frontiers of Valencia, in 1707. Their general was the count de Ruvigni, a native of France, who had been made a peer by the title of lord Galloway. Having obſerved the efforts of the Caſtilians, he wrote to London, that all the powers of Europe could not dethrone a prince ſo beloved by his ſubjects. The duke of Orleans came to command in Spain, and took advantage of the battle of Almanza to reduce Valencia and Arragon; and took Lerida in Catalonia, which had formerly reſiſted the great Condé.

1707. Berwick defeats the enemy at Almanza, which is followed by other ſucceſſes.

Theſe events a little revived the hopes of France; and the mareſchal de Villars had likewiſe been ſucceſsful in Germany, where he laid Suabia and Franconia under contribution. It was a kind of prodigy, that, after ſuch dreadful diſaſters, the enemy had not ſet foot in France; but at laſt the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene penetrated by the paſs of Tenda. They laid ſiege to Toulon, which was bombarded at the ſame time by an Engliſh fleet. If that town had been taken, Provence and Dauphiné muſt probably have fallen into the hands of the enemy; but ſcarcity, diſeaſes, and the opportune arrival of freſh ſuccours, cauſed the ſiege to be raiſed, and fears on that quarter to be diſpelled.

Siege of Toulon.

However, new misfortunes were ſtill impending, and an attempt upon Scotland, in favour of the Pretender, was unſucceſsful. The chevalier

1708. Attempt upon Scotland.

chevalier Forbin ſaved the fleet, which could not be done without much difficulty, againſt the Engliſh and contrary winds. Louis entertained ſtill better hopes from the campaign in Flanders, where his grandſon the duke of Burgundy, famous for thoſe virtues with which he had been inſpired by Fenelon, commanded an army of one hundred thouſand men, and was aſſiſted by Vendôme. The taking of Ghent and Ipres, a conqueſt of no great difficulty, as a ſecret correſpondence was kept up in both places, ſeemed to preſage better fortune. Unluckily, that pious prince and his courtiers could not agree with a general who had no tincture of devotion; and a difference of character and principles broke that union which is ſo needful to procure ſucceſs. What was eſſential at bottom, was not to entertain juſt thoughts of religion, but to ſerve the ſtate with fidelity. Prince Eugene and Marlborough were ſtrictly united both in the field and the cabinet, and profited by the faults which this miſunderſtanding could not fail to occaſion. They routed the French army at Oudenarde, and laid ſiege to Liſle; an attempt apparently raſh, but which was juſtified by the event. The excellent defence made by the mareſchal de Boufflers for near four months, only ſerved to add to the glory of the conquerors; they next made themſelves maſters of Ghent and Bruges; Paris trembled, and not without reaſon; for ſome officers in the Dutch ſervice, chiefly French refugees, advanced as far as Verſailles, and carried off the king's maſter of

Campaign in Flanders.

The duke of Burgundy and Vendôme did not agree.

Battle of Oudenarde, taking of Liſle, &c.

A panick in Paris.

the

the horſe, whom they miſtook for the dauphin.

1709. Philip V. ſtill loſes ground.

The next year completed the calamities of France. Clement XI. (Albani), who had always eſpouſed the intereſt of France, ſeeing the eccleſiaſtical ſtate threatened by the imperialiſts, was obliged to acknowledge the archduke king of Spain. His ſuffrage was of great conſequence in the opinion of a ſuperſtitious people, who abhorred the hereticks, by whom that prince was ſupported. The Engliſh took Sardinia from Spain, and gave it to the emperour, and had taken Minorca the year before; the Moors made themſelves maſters of Oran, on the coaſt of Africa, and the monarchy ſeemed every where to fall to ruin.

Louis ſues fruitleſsly for peace.

To ſo many loſſes the ſcourge of nature ſeemed to be added; a ſevere winter made them deſpair of any harveſt, and France was ſo exhauſted as to ſeem incapable of new efforts; the provinces rung with complaints, and Louis ſued for peace without a hope of obtaining tolerable conditions; but he wanted to convince his people that the war was continued againſt his inclination. At laſt the marquis de Torci, the king's chief miniſter, went to negotiate in perſon at the Hague, where he was obliged to bear the haughty behaviour of the grand penſionary Heinſius, who joined with Marlborough and prince Eugene in the deſign of humbling France. He was diſguſted with their propoſals, in which they demanded that the king ſhould join with them to dethrone his grandſon, that he ſhould

Torci at the Hague.

Propoſals made by the enemy.

ſhould renounce the ſovereignty of Alſace, and yield to the Dutch ten towns in Flanders, &c. Theſe odious propoſals produced a favourable effect for Louis XIV. By a circular letter, he ſhewed the publick not only the cruel injuſtice of the enemy, but likewiſe the neceſſity of defending himſelf againſt them. The ſenſe of the evils which they endured, was ſuſpended by honour and indignation.

Villars and Boufflers in Flanders.

Villars commanded an army of about ſeventy thouſand men in Flanders, and the mareſchal Boufflers, though his ſenior, had deſired to ſerve under him; a generoſity more honourable for him, than to have the command in chief. Tournay had newly ſurrendered, and Eugene and Marlborough were going to lay ſiege to Mons; but they attacked the French, who wanted to obſtruct their deſign.

Battle of Malplaquet.

From the obſtinacy of the combatants, and the quantity of blood that was ſpilt, the battle of Malplaquet ſurpaſſed all the reſt. Though the French ſoldiery had been without bread the preceding day, they threw away a part of what had been newly diſtributed to them, and forgot their wants, to yield to that martial ardour with which they were inſpired. The left wing of the allies, which was compoſed of the Dutch troops, was cut in pieces, but Marlborough gained ground. Villars was wounded while haſtening to oppoſe his progreſs; but the allies gained the field of battle, and Boufflers retreated in good order. The loſs of France did not exceed eight thouſand men, while that of the allies was more

more than twenty thouſand; however, that did not prevent them from taking Mons. Opinion ſometimes has prodigious influence in the ſucceſs of armies; the loſs of the field of battle is ſufficient to diſhearten thoſe who are in fact the ſtrongeſt.

Scheme of the enemy againſt Burgundy fails.

France was threatened with an invaſion on the other ſide of the kingdom. The duke of Savoy had paſſed the Alps and taken Anneci, and was to advance into Burgundy, where he expected to be joined by the imperialiſts, after having penetrated into Franche Comté. This bold attempt, which was prudently concerted, failed, by the count de Merci being defeated at Rumerſheim. The count de Bourg (afterwards a mareſchal of France) had the honour of defeating him, and in ſome degree preſerving the kingdom. But if the war was not brought to an end, what was ſtill to be expected? Louis was to be humbled under a new load of misfortunes.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Continuation of the WAR.—DEATH *of the Emperour* JOSEPH.—*Intrigues at* LONDON.—*Diſgrace of* MARLBOROUGH, *and Preliminaries of* PEACE.

Humiliating offers of Louis.

THAT dreadful conqueror, who in 1672 ſubdued almoſt all Holland, and, by refuſing tolerable terms to the conquered, inſpired them with the courage of deſpair, now found himſelf under the neceſſity of begging a humiliating peace from theſe ſame Hollanders, from a perſuaſion that he could not obtain it by any other means. He offered them a barrier, in which Tournay and Liſle were comprehended; to reſtore Straſburg and Briſack, to fill up the harbour of Dunkirk, to acknowledge the archduke king of Spain, and to give no aſſiſtance to Philip V. &c. We may judge by theſe offers how much the kingdom was exhauſted, and to what a dreadful ſituation it was reduced.

They could not be rejected but imprudently.

If the general welfare could have prevailed over particular paſſions, undoubtedly the allies would not have heſitated. Were not they likewiſe ſufferers? Were they not exhauſted? Were they always ſecure of victory? Could not a ſingle reverſe of fortune wreſt from them thoſe great advantages, which might have been ſecured to them by a ſtroke of a pen? But, on the one hand, the ambition of Eugene and Marlborough made them deſirous to continue the war; on the other, the pride of the grand penſionary Heinſius

Heinſius flattered him with the hopes of cruſhing Louis XIV. Holland was without a ſtadtholder ever ſince the death of William III. however, Heinſius, who was not ſo ambitious as William, followed the ſame political ſyſtem with regard to France, and gave himſelf up entirely to the guidance of theſe two generals.

The French ambaſſadours, who were received into the little town of Gertruydenberg by way of favour, (for they would not deign to admit them to the conferences with the other plenipotentiaries) ſeeing their offers rejected with a tone of contempt, humbled themſelves ſo far as to promiſe aſſiſtance in money to carry on the war againſt Philip V. The allies carried their barbarity to ſuch an exceſſive length, as to require that he ſhould turn his arms againſt him, and be obliged, without aſſiſtance, to dethrone him in a couple of months; without which condition they refuſed to treat. This was to make a peace impoſſible, and to render themſelves, in the ſight of mankind, guilty of all the cruelties of an unjuſt war.

But yet want him to dethrone his grandſon himſelf.

To complete theſe evils, the arrogance of the allies was cheriſhed by ſucceſs. They took Douai, Bethune, Saint Venant, and Aire; the barrier towns of France fell one after another, and the publick miſery occaſioned univerſal deſpair. A new edict impoſed a tax of the tenth of all the revenues; and this burden, unfortunately neceſſary, was regiſtered without obſtruction. The affairs in Spain ſucceeded no better, and the moment was arrived in which all hope was at an end.

New misfortunes of France.

After

Philip V. again leaves Madrid.

After the battle of Almanza in 1707, the marquis de Bay gained another victory in 1709, at Guadiana in Eſtremadura, yet Philip found himſelf upon the point of being driven out of his kingdom. Louis XIV. had been obliged to recal his troops for his own defence; and the Spaniards, twice beaten in Catalonia, were again defeated at Saragoſſa, by the celebrated German general Stahrenberg, and Philip once more quitted his capital. The archduke again entered Madrid, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed anew; but the ſorrow with which the countenances of the Caſtilians were impreſſed, declared their fidelity to their lawful king.

Vendôme in Spain.

One man only was aſked from the court of France, the famous duke de Vendôme, who had not ſerved ſince the unfortunate campaign of Liſle. No general ever knew better than he how to inſpire his army with a military enthuſiaſm; and, upon his arrival, the Spaniards thought they had found a ſaviour. The grandees of that country were deliberating on what rank ſhould be given to him:—*Any rank is ſufficient*, ſaid the hero; *I do not come to contend for precedence, but to ſave your king*. He very ſoon was provided both with an army and money; and the zeal of the nation was ſuch, as to ſeem to do more than was poſſible. The archduke quitted Madrid; and Vendôme having conducted the king thither, haſtened to attack his aſtoniſhed enemies: He beſieged the Engliſh general, Stanhope, in Brihuega, made him priſoner with five thouſand men, and next day gained a deciſive victory over Stahrenberg at Villavicioſa;

Siege of Brihuega. Battle of Villaviciosa.

Villavicioſa; upon which occaſion Philip acquired great honour. Both he and the archduke had been blamed for not having animated their troops by their own preſence. After the battle of Almanza, the earl of Peterborough ſaid—*People are very good natured to fight for them.*

Death of the fortunate emperour Joſeph.

The emperour Joſeph I. whoſe good fortune had never failed him, who had diſmembered a part of the Spaniſh monarchy for his own advantage, who had moſt arbitrarily diſpoſed of the dominions of the elector of Bavaria, rejoiced at the humiliation of the king of France, and had defeated the Hungarian rebels, died at the age of thirty three, at the height of human proſperity. His brother Charles VI. whom he attempted to raiſe to the throne of Spain, was his heir, and, after an interregnum of ſix months, was elected emperour. Peace was naturally expected to be the conſequence of this unlooked for event.

Is ſucceeded by Charles.

Secret intrigues in England to effect a peace.

Some preparations had been making for it a conſiderable time in England; and the intrigues of the court were of uſe to the cauſe of humanity. This is too remarkable a circumſtance not to engage the attention, and nothing ſerves better to ſhew the influence which caprice, whim, and trifles, have on the fate of kingdoms and empires.

The whigs rule in London.

There was always an oppoſition between the whigs and tories, which proved the more keen, that religious ſentiments were added to politicks to foment the diviſion: The firſt retained ſome of

of the principles of the preſbyterians, and the ſecond were zealous ſticklers for epiſcopacy. Marlborough having declared in favour of the whigs, that faction not only ruled, but even perſecuted: An enemy of peace, it entered into all the views of the general, whoſe credit and immenſe fortune had their foundation in war. A love of money, that diſgraceful paſſion in ſo great a man, contributed, as much as the honours which were conferred upon him, to render him an irreconcilable enemy to the family of Bourbon. His wife governed queen Anne; Godolphin the treaſurer was his friend, and the father in law of one of his daughters; and the earl of Sunderland, ſecretary of ſtate, his ſon in law, was equally devoted to him; ſo that, while there was no change of miniſtry, he diſpoſed of every thing as he pleaſed.

Credit and vices of Marlborough.

But the dutcheſs of Marlborough, who was haughty to a degree of inſolence, forgot that favour ſhould be ſkilfully employed, to be ſecure againſt diſgrace. She made the queen too ſenſible of her influence, and gave ſo much reaſon for diſguſt, that in 1708 another favourite, lady Maſham, who was her relation and creature, was already become a rival, by whom ſhe was on the point of being ſupplanted; and from that time cabals againſt the duke began to be formed. The hopes of the tories were revived. Harley, afterwards earl of Oxford, ſecretary of ſtate, and the famous St. John, afterwards viſcount Bolingbroke, formed the plan of a revolution.

His wife abuſes the favour of the queen.

Harley and Bolingbroke.

In

In thoſe countries where the affairs of the government are influenced by the populace, it is neceſſary to give them an impreſſion according to its views, by means which are analogous to their way of thinking and feeling; and the ſprings of religion are almoſt always the ſtrongeſt. Doctor Sacheverel, one of thoſe zealous enthuſiaſts, who, though void of underſtanding, could lead the multitude, preached and printed his declamations in favour of paſſive obedience, religious intolerance, and, in one word, againſt the principles and government of the whigs. In 1709 he was accuſed by the houſe of commons, and his trial engaged the attention of all ranks. The clergy and people declared in his favour with ſo much heat, that a ſedition was apprehended. The queen was preſent at the trial as a ſpectatreſs, and it was univerſally known that ſhe approved a doctrine favourable to royalty. Many of the principal tories declared, that the doctor's ſermons were abſurd, but maintained there was not ſufficient ground for condemnation. Sacheverel was found guilty by a majority of only ſeventeen voices. The parliament ordered his ſermon to be burnt, and himſelf to be ſuſpended for three years. A more rigorous ſentence was expected, and the tories fancying themſelves triumphant, entered into new intrigues.

The tories have recourſe to the influence of religion.

Sacheverel.

His ſermon burnt by order of parliament.

Such was the weakneſs of the queen for the dutcheſs of Marlborough, that, if ſhe would have reſtrained her haughtineſs, ſhe might have long preſerved her influence; but at laſt her overbearing, fiery temper, rendered her unſuffer-

Diſgrace of the dutcheſs of Marlborough.

able, and the new favourite, whom ſhe had inſulted, ſeized the opportunity to be revenged. Anne being wounded to the quick, burſt her bonds, and Godolphin, Sunderland, and the other leaders of the whig party, were very ſoon diſmiſſed: The miniſtry was changed, and it was neceſſary likewiſe to change the parliament. Doctor Sacheverel once more appeared upon the ſcene; a benefice was beſtowed upon him, the clergy and people yielded to the prevailing enthuſiaſm, and almoſt all the elections were made in favour of tories. Without this trifling accident, perhaps, this revolution would not have taken place. The people of all countries are the ſame.

Great changes effected by ſmall means.

When the tories got into power, they became, like the whigs, inſolent perſecutors. They inveighed againſt the former miniſters, and againſt Marlborough. The noble actions, the great ſervices of that general, were defaced by party hatred; nothing was ſpoken of but his inſatiable avarice, and things of the moſt odious kinds were imputed to him; his abilities were inſulted, and even his courage rendered problematical. The Engliſh ſeem to have been ſeized with the levity and ingratitude of the Athenians, or rather, in the tranſports of faction, they ſhewed themſelves, what they always have been in ſimiliar circumſtances, leſs reaſonable than paſſionate and unjuſt.

Inveteracy of the tories againſt the duke of Marlborough.

However, the court durſt not take the command of the army from Marlborough. While the war continued, he was almoſt certain of preſerving conſiderable power; and however

Obſtructions to a peace.

great

great the queen's inclination for peace, the national prejudices againſt France, and the pride of victory, preſented powerful obſtacles.

After the death of Joſeph I. the motives for war no longer ſubſiſted.

But the emperour Joſeph being dead, and all his dominions inherited by Charles, it was the intereſt of England to adopt a different ſyſtem, and not exhauſt herſelf in the cauſe of another. She bore the burden of the war, while Holland and the houſe of Auſtria reaped the fruits. If ſhe had taken up arms to preſerve the balance of power in Europe, if there was room to dread that the family of France, being placed on the throne of Spain, would make the balance lean to that ſide, ought ſhe to ſet all thoſe crowns upon one head, which had rendered the houſe of Auſtria too formidable? Was it not high time to put an end to the calamities of Europe? Could England do any thing more for her own glory?

Secret negotiations at Verſailles.

Queen Anne and her miniſters were kept in reſtraint by the engagements which had been entered into with the allies; but by means of an obſcure prieſt, whoſe name was Gualtier, a ſecret negotiation had been begun with the court of Verſailles, and the miniſtry of Louis XIV. was aſſured, that, if they pleaſed, a peace might be concluded without the interpoſition of Holland. *This was*, as M. de Torci expreſſes it in his Memoirs, *aſking a ſick man, attacked by a long and dangerous diſorder, if he wiſhed to be cured.* The poet Prior was employed in this negotiation; and, what is very uncommon, both parties acted with equal ſincerity.

1711. Marlborough takes Bouchain.

However, the war was ſtill continued, and Marlborough made France tremble. He forced the lines of mareſchal de Villars, which extended from Montreuil to Valenciennes: He next attempted the ſiege of Bouchain; a bold undertaking, attended with the ſame ſucceſs, ſo that there was ſcarce any obſtruction left between him and Paris.

Preliminaries of peace.

Happily the pacifick diſpoſition of the Britiſh court ſet bounds to the ambition of that general, and notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the emperour and the ſtates general, the preliminaries of peace were ſigned; by which a barrier was ſecured to the allies, Dunkirk demoliſhed, &c. Marlborough was ſtript of his employments, but preſerved the riches which he had acquired during the war. Accuſed of peculation, he would perhaps have fallen a victim to the tories, if the queen had not, by prudent moderation, ſpun out to a great length the odious proſecution.

Marlborough deprived of his employments.

Prince Eugene in London.

It was in vain that prince Eugene came to London, in hopes of defeating the views of the miniſtry. He was received with honour, but his hopes were fruſtrated; yet he gave an eminent proof of his eſteem for the diſgraced hero. One day, when dining with the earl of Oxford, (Harley) the author of the revolution in the miniſtry, that miniſter ſaid, that he congratulated himſelf on having the greateſt general in Europe at his table—*If I am*, replied the prince, *I owe it to you.* Marlborough could not be more highly praiſed, nor more amply revenged for the inſults of his enemies.

To

To see England upon the point of abandoning them, was a just punishment for the arrogance of the Dutch. They were informed in the queen's name, that if they deferred to concur in the preliminaries, the delay would be construed into a refusal; upon which they consented to open the conferences at Utrecht, which ended in a peace that ought to have been eagerly promoted by all the powers of Europe.

The Dutch obliged to join in the conferences.

EPOCHA.

EPOCHA OF LOUIS XIV.

BOOK IV.

[Containing the End of the Reign of Louis XIV. and the Hiſtory of the Czar Peter I. and Charles XII.]

CHAP. I.

Negotiations of UTRECHT.—*Victories of* FRANCE.—*End of the* WAR *in* 1714.

1712. The emperour and the Dutch oppoſe the peace.

THE congreſs of Utrecht was opened in January 1712, but did not at firſt keep pace with the expectations of Louis XIV. However deſirous queen Anne was of having a peace, ſhe wanted as much as poſſible that the allies ſhould be ſatisfied; but their wiſhes were by no means pacifick. The emperour Charles VI. oppoſed the diſmembering of the Spaniſh monarchy, and the Dutch did not confine their pretenſions to the barrier which they demanded. Their negotiations were always carried on with a captious inſincerity, never explaining their demands, but waiting to make ſuch as contingencies recommended, and wanting to reduce France to accept ſuch terms as they ſhould pleaſe to offer.

On

Embarraſſment of the Engliſh plenipotentiaries.

On the other hand, the Engliſh plenipotentiaries were reſerved and timid, from the apprehenſion of changes ſo common in England; a dread the better founded, as they foreſaw a new reign. "Theſe plenipotentiaries," ſays Torci, "ſo far from ſpeaking freely to thoſe of France, "ſtill talked the language of enemies. They "minutely obeyed their orders, and their in- "ſtructions were the pledges of their conduct. "It is dangerous to act otherwiſe in a country "liable to ſuch changes, where, according as "parties prevail, they may be judged worthy "either of rewards or puniſhments; an unfor- "tunate uncertainty, to which the plenipoten- "tiaries of France were not expoſed, as they "had only to obey the king, whom alone they "were to pleaſe, and which they were ſure of "doing by the punctual execution of clear and "exact inſtructions given to them, without any "ſecret reſerve by his majeſty." This anecdote gives a ſufficiently juſt idea of the difference of the two governments; and Torci, no doubt, preferred that of Verſailles.

New obſtruction by the death of the children of France.

To ſo many cauſes of delay was added an unforeſeen obſtruction, which aroſe from the domeſtick calamities that befel Louis XIV. In 1711, he had loſt his only ſon the dauphin; and the duke of Burgundy, who next ſucceeded to that title, likewiſe died at the age of thirty; a prince deſerving univerſal regret, ſince from him was expected the reign of a ſage. His wife the dauphineſs, an accompliſhed princeſs, had ended her life but ſix days before him; and, in a few days after, their eldeſt ſon, the duke of Bretagne,

Bretagne, expired. The duke d'Anjou (Louis XV.) was threatened with approaching death. The right of ſucceſſion to the crown might therefore very ſoon deſcend to the king of Spain, who was the ſecond ſon of the firſt dauphin; and, by this chain of misfortunes, the union of the two crowns, which was the cauſe of apprehenſions in Europe, was no longer improbable.

The renunciation of Philip V. was demanded.

This determined queen Anne to demand, as an eſſential condition of the peace, that Philip V. ſhould purely and ſimply renounce the crown of France, and transfer his title to his younger brother, the duke de Berri. The council of Verſailles were of opinion, that ſuch a renunciation muſt be null, from the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and had the honeſty to declare it; and Torci maintained that judgment upon a paſſage in Jérôme Bignon, who ſuppoſes, that the fundamental law to which this refers is, in the eyes of the people, the work of God himſelf, and that it can only be aboliſhed by him. They might have reaſoned better than Jérôme Bignon on the ſubject, without wounding the inconteſtible rights of the reigning family: In important affairs eſpecially, none but ſolid reaſons ſhould be alleged.

According to the court of Verſailles, it would have been null.

Anſwer of Bolingbroke.

Bolingbroke, the queen's ſecretary, prudently replied, "We are willing to believe, that in "France you are perſuaded that none but God "can aboliſh the law upon which you found "the right of ſucceſſion: But we muſt be par-"doned for believing in England, that a prince "may depart from his claims by a voluntary "renunciation, and that he in whoſe favour it

"has

" has been made, may with juſtice be ſupported " in his pretenſions by thoſe powers who have " guaranteed the treaty."

Alternative propoſed to the king of Spain.

Neceſſity, which pleads ſtronger than any argument, very ſoon perſuaded Louis, who adviſed his grandſon to take this unavoidable ſtep. To facilitate the peace, England propoſed another alternative; either that Philip ſhould make the propoſed renunciation, or yield Spain to the duke of Savoy, to receive in exchange his dominions, with Monferrat, Mantua, and the kingdom of Naples and Sicily: So that if he, or any of his deſcendants, ſhould ſucced to the crown of France, it might be reunited to all theſe territories, except Sicily, which ſhould be detached for the family of Auſtria. Louis preferred the laſt expedient. In writing to the king of Spain—*I ſhall look upon it as the greateſt happineſs of my life*, ſaid he, *if you take the reſolution to come nearer to me, and to preſerve claims which you will fruitleſsly regret, if you ever abandon them.* But Philip alleging that he owed it to his own glory, and the zeal of his ſubjects, preferred Spain, conſented to the renunciation, and agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms. The Engliſh deſired to have Dunkirk put into their hands till the peace ſhould be concluded; and it was agreed to, becauſe a mutual confidence reigned between the two courts, and they were anxious to have the peace concluded.

He conſents to the renunciation, againſt the deſire of Louis XIV.

The Engliſh ſeparate from the allies.

Holland, however, had redoubled her efforts for the firſt compaign; Queſnoi was taken by prince Eugene, who propoſed to the duke of Ormond, the Engliſh general, to engage the French.

French. It was at this time the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities between England and France was declared. The duke ſeparated from the allies; but moſt of the foreign troops who were in the queen's pay refuſed to follow him, and prince Eugene, who ſtill had a ſuperiour army, laid ſiege to Landreci. France was reduced to the greateſt extremity; and it was debated in council, whether the king ſhould leave Verſailles. He was reſolved, in caſe of a new diſaſter, to aſſemble the nobility, to lead them againſt the enemy, and to die with his arms in his hands. That monarch, who appeared greater in adverſity than when ſurrounded with the pomp of victories, intereſts the feelings of the heart, after having long dazzled the eye.

Prince Eugene beſieges Landreci.

Courage of the king.

It was now time that the enemy ſhould experience, in their turn, how much men are blinded in truſting to fortune. A pariſh prieſt and a magiſtrate of Douay were the firſt that conceived it would be eaſy to attack two eſſential poſts of prince Eugene, whoſe lines were exceſſively extended, and at a great diſtance from his camp. An idea conceived by accident may be productive of great conſequences. Upon the information given to the mareſchals Villars and Monteſquieu, the plan of an enterpriſe was laid, by which France was preſerved. What was not to be dreaded, if it did not ſucceed!

Project for attacking the enemy.

Villars made a feint, as if he wanted to attack prince Eugene's camp; and having amuſed him, ſuddenly fell upon Denain, where the duke of Albemarle was entrenched; and having forced the entrenchments, made the duke, and all

Battle of Denain, and its conſequences.

all who were with him, priſoners; rapidly carrying the different poſts along the Scarpe. He next attacked Marchiennes, where the magazines of the enemy were depoſited, and carried it in three days. Prince Eugene raiſed the ſiege of Landreci, and loſt Saint Amand, Douay, le Queſnoi, and Bouchain. He retreated, after having loſt a great part of his army, without coming to an action, forty battalions being made priſoners. From that time the ſuperiority ſeemed to be on the ſide of France, and the enemies of the peace were puniſhed for their imprudence and cruel ambition.

Renunciation of Philip, how publiſhed in France.

Then it was that Philip V. made a ſolemn renunciation, and the court of Great Britain inſiſted upon its being ratified by the ſtates general of France. "But," ſays Torci in his Memoirs, "the authority which foreigners aſcribe "to the ſtates being unknown in France, this "clauſe was changed by the king: He only "promiſed to accept the renunciation of the "king his grandſon; that it ſhould then be "publiſhed by his order, and in the moſt ſolemn manner regiſtered in all the parliaments "of the kingdom." In fact, from the year 1614, the national aſſembly was only to be heard of in hiſtory. The duke of Berri, brother of Philip, in the ſame manner renounced the crown of Spain, in caſe he ſucceeded to that of France; as did likewiſe the duke of Orleans. The beſt ſecurity for theſe renunciations was undoubtedly the apprehenſions of Europe for the balance of power.

The

The *Cortes* change the order of ſucceſſion in Spain.

The *Cortes*, which had formerly been ſo powerful in Spain, but at preſent are forgotten, like the ſtates general of France, confirmed the renunciation of Philip. They did more; for they changed the order of ſucceſſion in favour of the males, inſtead of the females, who inherited the Spaniſh monarchy preferably to princes who were not ſo nearly related; and from that time it was eſtabliſhed, that the males ſhould have the preference. Had it not been for this regulation, the deſcendants of Philip V. might have ſeen the crown, by right of marriage, deſcend to foreigners, and the renunciation turn out to their diſadvantage. An object of ſuch importance merited the attention of the *Cortes*.

The Dutch, in their turn, humble themſelves to obtain a peace.

The court of Great Britain having removed every obſtruction to a peace on their ſide, the tone of the Dutch was changed, and they humbly begged to renew thoſe conferences which they had broken off. The abbé Polignack, ſecond plenipotentiary of Louis XIV. wrote in the following terms: "We act the ſame part "the Dutch did at Gertruydenberg, and they "act ours: This is complete revenge. Count "Zinzendorff (the emperour's miniſter) feels "his declenſion very ſeverely." Struck with diſmay at the laſt campaign, the ſtates general were obliged to follow the ſteps of England, whatever efforts were made to prevent them by the court of Vienna.

1713. Treaty of Utrecht.

At laſt the peace was ſigned at Utrecht, agreeably to the preliminaries ſettled with Louis.

We

We ſhall give an abridgment of the principal articles.

Articles for England.

1. France obliges herſelf not to ſuffer the pretender in her dominions, nor to acknowledge the claims of the houſe of Stuart. She guarantees the order of ſucceſſion ſettled in favour of the houſe of Hanover. (The Engliſh parliament had declared, that if queen Anne died without children, the crown was to deſcend to the princeſs Sophia, daughter of the elector palatine Frederick V. the grand daughter of James I. and the mother of George I. who ſucceeded in virtue of that act. Forty five people were reckoned, who, by their birth, had a preferable title; but the Engliſh conſulted only their hatred againſt the catholick league.) Hudſon's Bay, the iſlands of St. Chriſtopher and Newfoundland, Acadia or Nova Scotia, to be ceded to England—important acquiſitions in America. The harbour of Dunkirk to be filled up, and the fortifications to be demoliſhed, with a promiſe never to repair them. Spain yielded to Great Britain Gibraltar, the iſland of Minorca, and the *aſſiento* or negro trade for thirty years.

Barrier of Holland.

2. France engaged to deliver up the Spaniſh Low Countries to the ſtates general, for the houſe of Auſtria to enjoy the perfect ſovereignty. No part of theſe provinces can ever belong to that crown, nor even to any prince of the blood! The Dutch ſhall garriſon thoſe places deſtined for a barrier, (according to a treaty which they had concluded with England) to which ſhall be added Tournai, Ipres, Menin, &c. but

Liſle,

Liſle, Aire, Bethune, Saint Venant, in exchange to be reſtored to Louis XIV.

The duke of Savoy king of Sicily, &c.

3. The duke of Savoy to be acknowledged heir to the Spaniſh monarchy, failing the poſterity of Philip V. The ſummit of the Alps to be the boundary between France and his dominions. Exille, Feneſtrelle, Château Dauphin, &c. to be ceded to him. Spain likewiſe ceded to him the kingdom of Sicily, under a clauſe of reverſion, failing heirs male. Victor Amadeus was a great gainer by his defection.

Houſe of Bavaria.

4. The elector of Bavaria to keep Luxemburgh and the county of Namur until he ſhall be recompenſed for his loſſes. (Philip V. had given him the ſovereignty of the Spaniſh Low Countries, of which he only retained this part.) The kingdom of Sardinia was likewiſe granted to him. The reeſtabliſhment of that prince, and his brother the elector of Cologne, was always one of the principal objects of the generoſity of the king of France.

Houſe of Auſtria. The empire.

5. Beſides the Low Countries, the kingdom of Naples and the Milaneſe were left to the houſe of Auſtria. Louis yielded Landau, Kehl, and Briſack, to the empire. The elector of Brandenburgh to be acknowledged king of Pruſſia, to whom Spaniſh Gueiderland was to be ceded.

Portugal. Spain.

6. Portugal to be comprehended in the general peace. All the contracting powers acknowledged Philip V. who loſt no part of his dominions, except ſuch as were rather hurtful than advantageous to Spain, from their diſtance.

The

Charles VI. ſuffers for not concluding a peace.

The emperour Charles VI. by acquieſcing in the peace of Utrecht, would have gained ſome certain advantages, and have happily put an end to a war which made Europe ſtream with blood for thirteen years. He flattered himſelf with the hope of wreſting new conceſſions from France, without the aſſiſtance of England and Holland: A raſh expectation! and he had cauſe for repentance. Villars took Landau, croſſed the Rhine, defeated general Vaubonne, made himſelf maſter of Fribourg, by this means compelled the emperour to accept a peace, and had the honour of concluding it with prince Eugene at Raſtadt.

1714. Treaty of Raſtadt.

By this treaty France preſerved Landau, and the frontiers were left exactly the ſame as at the peace of Ryſwick. Charles got from the Spaniſh monarchy what had been ceded to him at Utrecht. The electors of Bavaria and Cologne had their dominions reſtored by the emperour; but neither he nor the empire acknowledged the king of Spain, who, on his part, did not acknowledge the emperour. However, their titles were not leſs determined. The peace with the empire was ſigned at Baden.

Ambitious policy ſubject to be deceived.

How obnoxious are ambitious politicians to be miſtaken in their calculations! It was expected that France would be ſtript of a number of provinces; yet ſhe loſt nothing in Europe but ſome of thoſe places which ſhe had formerly conquered. If we reflect upon the offers made by Louis at the conference of Gertruydenberg, we muſt be ſenſible, that, independent of the cauſe of humanity, it is a folly

to

to refuſe peace, when it can be made to advantage: And what ſhall we think of the conqueſts of Louis XIV. purchaſed by ſo many wars equally ruinous and bloody?

Catalonia at laſt ſubdued.

Nothing remained for the king of Spain to reduce, but Catalonia, which continued obſtinately to refuſe ſubmiſſion, and, though deprived of all aſſiſtance, ſtill preſerved an enthuſiaſtick love of liberty. Louis ſent ſome troops and a ſquadron, and they laid ſiege to Barcelona both by ſea and land; but the inhabitants defended themſelves like madmen. Their courage was inflamed to a degree of fanaticiſm by their prieſts and monks, of whom, it is ſaid, more than five hundred fell with arms in their hands. However, the mareſchal de Berwick obliged this great city to capitulate, when the moſt guilty were puniſhed, and the privileges of the province aboliſhed.

Second marriage of Philip V. with Elizabeth Farneſe.

Philip V. in quiet poſſeſſion of his kingdom, always ſhewed a blind ſubmiſſion to his favourite, the princeſs Urſini, who had governed the queen, Mary Louiſa of Savoy. Upon the death of the queen, it was reported, that ſhe was to be ſucceeded by the princeſs Urſini; but, led by the deceitful information of Alberoni, an eccleſiaſtick of low birth, a native of Placentia, ſhe perſuaded the king to marry Elizabeth Farneſe, heireſs of Parma, Placentia, and Tuſcany, whom that Italian repreſented as a women void of ſpirit, of a weak underſtanding, and, of courſe, eaſily governed. Nothing could be more unjuſt than this picture. Elizabeth had

Revolution at court.

ſcarcely ſet foot in Spain, when the favourite,

not

not being ſufficiently guarded in her diſcourſe, ſhe cauſed her to be immediately diſmiſſed, and all the miniſtry to be changed. Orri, whoſe zeal to reſtore the finances occaſioned commotions in Spain, and chiefly in the inquiſition, from his meddling with the privileges of the church, was ſent back to France. Alberoni, a man of extenſive genius and bold temper, very ſoon got the reins of government into his hands, and formed vaſt projects, which, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve, brought on his own deſtruction.

CHAP. II.

Death of Queen ANNE, *and the Affairs of* ENGLAND.—*Death of* LOUIS XIV.

What glory queen Anne acquired by the peace.

IF party ſpirit had not ſtifled the feelings of nature, and obſcured the light of reaſon, queen Anne would have been univerſally celebrated as the benefactreſs of the human race. She brought to an end a moſt dreadful war, where relations fought againſt relations; where the particular intereſts of a few princes gave up the fineſt countries in Europe to fire and ſword; and the ambition of ſome generals ſacrificed the blood and treaſure of the people unneceſſarily. She ſhewed every poſſible regard for the intereſt of her allies, though they did not furniſh their contingencies, and perſevered againſt her equitable meaſures. She glorioufly

freed her kingdom from the burden of a ruinous war, which was only intereſting to the Auſtrian power. She obtained the approbation of her parliament, where the commons complained of being burdened with nineteen millions during the courſe of the war. In a word, the great work which crowned the glory of her reign deſerves the higheſt applauſe.

The whigs, however, declaim againſt it.

The whigs, however, railed againſt the peace with unbounded licentiouſneſs; and the nation was overrun with libels and ſatires, and reports were ſpread the moſt likely to inflame hot headed men. The queen, ſaid they, wants to place her brother, the pretender, on the throne; popery will prevail, the laws are threatened, the conſtitution is in danger. Theſe ſeditious rumours diſturbed the parliament; and notwithſtanding the prudent repreſentations of the queen they offered a reward of five thouſand pounds ſterling to whoever ſhould ſeize the perſon of the pretender, if he attempted to effect a deſcent in the kingdom. He had withdrawn to Lorraine.

1714. Anne dies.

Queen Anne, conſumed with vexation which increaſed her infirmities, died in the fiftieth year of her age: A good princeſs, but of narrow genius and a weak character, though ſhe loved her people, and lived a life of virtue. Her reign was an uninterrupted ſeries of proſperity, which ſhe owed to her generals and miniſters.

The union of England and Scotland into one kingdom.

In 1706 ſhe executed a ſcheme which had been fruitleſsly attempted by king William; the uniting of England and Scotland into one kingdom, by the name of Great Britain. The intracta-

intractability of the Scots, the mutual antipathy of the two nations, the disturbances continually springing from these principles, rendered the project extremely useful, but at the same time increased the obstructions. The treaty, of which the following are the principal articles, was at last concluded. 1st, That all the subjects of Great Britain shall have the same privileges and the same laws: 2d, That the whole kingdom shall be represented by one parliament, into which sixteen peers and forty five commoners of Scotland shall be admitted: 3d, That all the peers of Scotland shall enjoy the same privileges as those of England, except the right of sitting in parliament. This exception was attacked, as contrary to the fundamental laws and essential rights of the peerage. The church of Scotland, which was presbyterian, occasioned another subject of dispute; for the antipathy of the sects was not then extinguished: They exaggerated the inconveniences, and lessened the advantages. But now that the ferment is dispersed, what appeared at that time a monster, is now no longer any thing. Experience, sooner or later, causes chimeras to vanish; so rare is it to do a great publick good, without some particular inconvenience!

Property required to be admitted into parliament.

It was declared by a law passed in this reign, that no man could be the representative of a county in parliament, unless he had six hundred pounds sterling a year in land; and for a borough, one half of that sum. This law was made with a view of excluding those who were only traders, from an assembly where the pos-

seſſors of landed property were thought more worthy of being the repreſentatives of the nation. William had introduced the ſhameful practice of bribing both the electors and elected. This evil was of ſuch a nature as to increaſe continually; and the miſchief ſtill grew worſe under a foreign family, which had more need of that reſource to ſupport its authority.

Bribery very common.

Such were the prejudices occaſioned by the imprudent zeal of the laſt of the Stuarts, that in the dread of ſeeing a catholick upon the throne, the Engliſh preferred the dominion of a foreigner, to that of a prince of the royal family—to an Engliſhman. The princeſs Sophia being dead, her ſon, the elector of Hanover, was without difficulty acknowledged by the name of George I. It was a prodigious inconvenience, that the king of England, as a prince of Germany, had ſome intereſts which were worſe than indifferent to his kingdom; but his people only thought of being delivered from a catholick family, and to baniſh for ever every idea of popery.

The Engliſh prefer a foreigner to the Stuarts.

George, who at his acceſſion was fifty four years of age, and already diſtinguiſhed by his perſonal merit, ought, it would ſeem, to hold the balance between the whigs and the tories, rather than to foment the ſpirit of faction, by declaring in favour of the one againſt the other; but whether he thought that to be impoſſible, or his intereſt or inclination led him to the party moſt oppoſite to the Stuarts, the whigs immediately gained his whole confidence. Marlborough was again placed at the head of the army, and Bolingbroke was diſmiſſed from the miniſtry.

George I. declared too openly for the whigs.

iſtry. A parliament devoted to the court, (which did not neglect the means of corruption) after having fixed the ordinary revenue of the crown at ſeven hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, very ſoon began to perſecute the tories. The duke of Ormond, Bolingbroke, and Oxford, were accuſed of high treaſon; the two firſt withdrew to France, and failing to appear, a bill of attainder was found againſt them; and Oxford, who had been diſmiſſed a little before the death of queen Anne, remained two years in the Tower before he was diſcharged; he was even excepted from an act of indemnity, which was publiſhed too late.

An univerſal change at court.

Unjuſt ſeverities.

It was impoſſible but the ſeverities of the new government muſt occaſion diſturbances: The Jacobites, or the pretender's party, prepared for a rebellion, and the miniſter was expoſed to the ſame ſtorms in which ſo many eminent perſons had fallen victims. It was this which inſpired him with a bold ſcheme, dangerous for the conſtitution, but exceedingly uſeful to the royal authority, and which ſucceeded beyond the king's expectations. As that parliament was exceedingly docile, it was propoſed to extend their duration to ſeven years, and ſpacious pretences overruled every good reaſon; ſo that the bill paſſed into a law. Thus triennal parliaments, which were a barrier ſet up againſt the attempts of the crown in the time of king William, were deſtroyed by the influence of the court. Since that time ſome attempts have been made to reſtore them, and perhaps more will be made equally unſucceſsful.

Commotions of the Jacobites.

Septennial parliament.

Louis

Works at Mardyke.

Louis XIV. did not long ſurvive queen Anne; however, he again experienced the haughtineſs of the Engliſh. Having demoliſhed Dunkirk, as had been ſtipulated, he made a harbour at Mardyke, comparable to the one which was deſtroyed; of which the Engliſh ambaſſadour having haughtily complained, the work was abandoned, to prevent a rupture.

Le Tellier, the king's confeſſor, a dangerous man.

Some new theological diſputes being ſtirred up by the king's confeſſor, poiſoned the cloſe of his reign. Father le Tellier, a violent, ſevere, haughty man and bigotted theologian, directed, according to his pleaſure, the conſcience of the old monarch, who was more than ever ſuſceptible of the impreſſions of falſe zeal. The *reflections* of Queſnel, a father of the oratory, upon the New Teſtament, had a tincture of Janſeniſm. It was eaſy with a little attention, to diſcover in that book the ſpirit of the port royal, which at that time was ſo ſuſpected and decried: But it was as eaſy to foreſee, that by perſecuting the author, the readers, and favourers of the book, infinitely more harm would be done, than by ſome falſe propoſitions ſcattered through four volumes of piety. But this is never thought of by thoſe who endeavour to direct the opinions of men by force.

Book of F. Queſnel.

The bull *unigenitus* of Clement XI.

A hundred and one propoſitions of Queſnel, which le Tellier wanted to diſcredit, were condemned in 1713, by the famous bull *unigenitus* of Clement XI. It would have perhaps been better to have leſſened the number, and not to have incurred the reproach of having placed among them ſome reſpectable truths. One of

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the propoſitions was—*The dread of an unjuſt excommunication ought not to prevent a man from doing his duty.* Whatever bad ſenſe might be put upon it, it afforded matter of diſpute and railing. The acceptance and regiſtration of this bull was made an affair of ſtate. The king's confeſſor having met with numberleſs obſtacles, though he had the nomination to the vacant benefices, employed the moſt hateful intrigues, iſſued *lettres de cachet* in vaſt numbers, ſtirred up a great part of the nation, drew an irreconcilable hatred upon his order, and poiſoned the latter years of his maſter's life, to erect the conſtitution of the pope into a law of the church and kingdom.

The exceſſes of F. le Tellier a ſource of diſturbances.

By an edict which was regiſtered in 1714, the king called his legitimated children to the ſucceſſion, failing the princes of the blood, with whom he put them upon a level; but this edict was revoked in 1717. His will, which ſettled a regency, was not regarded after his death; and the duke of Orleans cauſed it to be annulled by an arret.

Edict in favour of the legitimated princes.

If Louis XIV. committed ſome great faults, during a reign of ſeventy two years, he, in ſome degree, confeſſed it, when he made uſe of the following memorable expreſſions to his ſucceſſor:—*Endeavour to preſerve peace with your neighbours. I have been too fond of war; do not imitate me in that, nor in being too expenſive. Take advice on all occaſions, and endeavour to diſcover the beſt, that you may always follow it. Relieve your people as ſoon as you can, and do that which unfortunately I could not do.* He chiefly adviſed him never to forget

1715. Louis confeſſes his faults.

forget his duty to God; a powerful motive to remind ſovereigns of what they owe to men.

His death. The people rejoice at it, becauſe he did not reſemble Henry IV.

He preſerved that courage to the laſt which characterizes a vigorous mind. *Why do you weep*, ſaid he to his domeſticks; *did you think I was immortal?* He died the firſt of September 1715, in the ſeventy eighth year of his age; leaving the ſtate burdened with a debt of two thouſand millions. The misfortunes which the people had long been ſuffering, the taxes, the publick miſery, and the ferment occaſioned by the bull, made them forget his days of proſperity, and thoſe ſentiments which he deſerved on ſeveral accounts. "It is alleged that his mother, "the queen, ſaid to him one day when he was "very young—*My ſon, endeavour to reſemble your "grandfather, and not your father.* The king "having aſked the reaſon—*It is*, ſaid ſhe, *be-"cauſe the people wept at the death of Henry* IV. "*and laughed at that of Louis* XIII." (Voltaire.)

Yet the nation is much indebted to him.

The death of Louis XIV. was in general rather a cauſe of joy than of ſorrow; but the arts, learning, the ſciences, urbanity, the pleaſures of ſocial life, civil laws, good order, domeſtick tranquillity, perfection in many things; in one word, a part of thoſe advantages which we enjoy at preſent, ought to immortalize his memory.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

RISE *of the* CZAR PETER *the* GREAT, *till the* WAR *with* CHARLES XII.

The north deſerves to fix our attention under the czar Peter I. and Charles XII.

WE have for a long time loſt ſight of the northern powers; becauſe they had no ſhare in the war which was entered into to ſecure the Spaniſh ſucceſſion; yet Charles XII. king of Sweden, and in a more particular manner, his rival, the czar Peter I. made themſelves famous by their courage and enterpriſes. Let us introduce the abridgment of their hiſtory in this place; it is too intereſting for us to be without a knowledge of it, and is even neceſſarily linked with that of the ſouthern countries of Europe. Peter the Great, who ſtands forth the firſt, was in ſome degree the wonder of his age. Ruſſia, or Muſcovy, which was almoſt unknown before his time, is become, by his induſtry, worthy of fixing the attention of the whole world; he may be ſaid to have created or foſtered the ſeeds of all thoſe ſurpriſing improvements which have been made, and ſtill are executing in that country.

The empire of Ruſſia immenſe and unknown.

This empire, in its length from eaſt to weſt, comprehends an extent of about nineteen hundred leagues, (of which fourteen hundred and ſeventy belong to Siberia) and in its greateſt breadth about ſeven hundred. The Roman empire was never ſo extenſive; but an immenſity of country almoſt entirely a deſert, deſtitute of

of arts, commerce, government, and learning, forms only an obſcure, unſtable power, ſubject to a thouſand revolutions. The glory of ſtates ought to be derived from the ſame ſource with their power.

Chriſtianity in Ruſſia.

Chriſtianity had been introduced into Ruſſia about the end of the tenth century, by the zeal of a princeſs, as it had been into France, England, Poland, Hungary, &c. where the women have had ſuch a ſhare in the converſion of princes, which has been followed by that of their people. The Ruſſian church, at firſt under the power of the patriarch of Conſtantinople, at the end of the ſixteenth century had an independent patriarch. In other reſpects the chriſtianity of this nation, like that of the old barbarians, conſiſted only in abſurd ſuperſtitions, of which the patriarch took advantage to rule the ſovereign.

John Baſilowitz, &c.

I formerly mentioned the czar John Baſilowitz, who freed the Ruſſians from the yoke of the Tartars, extended his conqueſts to the Caſpian Sea, and added Caſan and Aſtracan to his dominions. Ruſſia was torn in pieces after his death, and the counterfeit Demetrius ſet the whole empire in combuſtion. Michael Romanow,* the ſon of an archbiſhop, whom he made patriarch, was placed upon the throne by the principal boyards in 1613, amidſt civil diſturbances and the ruin of the royal family. After having ceded Smolenſko to Poland, and Ingria to Sweden, he continued to reign in peace,

Michael Romanow.

* *Ow*, at the end of Ruſſian names, is pronounced *of*.

peace, and was ſucceeded, in 1645, by his ſon Alexis Michaelowitz, who retook Smolenſko, and made ſome other acquiſitions from the Poles. He even contended for the crown of Poland, and offered to add it to his own. He publiſhed the firſt Ruſſian code, eſtabliſhed ſome manufactures, peopled deſerts, and, what was more, he was the father of Peter the Great.

Alexis Michaelowitz.

Fædor Alexiowitz, the eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor of Alexis, laboured, like his father, to civilize Ruſſia; but he died young, in 1682, without leaving any children; and knowing the inability of John his brother by a firſt marriage, named Peter, who was of a ſecond, his heir, though he was then only two years of age, but who had already given proofs of a ſuperiour genius. The princeſs Sophia, ſiſter of the two princes, committed ſome dreadful exceſſes to ſecure the crown to John, or rather to ſeize the government into her own hands. She rouſed the rage of the Strelitz, a body of militia conſiſting of about thirty thouſand men, ſimilar to the Turkiſh Janizaries. She carried her point ſo as to cauſe her two brothers to be proclaimed, and herſelf aſſociated with them as coregent, and in this manner reigned ſome years with her favourite Baſilius Galitzin; but a conſpiracy againſt the life of Peter, which was probably formed by her, brought on her own ruin. Peter aſſembled ſome troops, puniſhed the ſeditious, confined Sophia in a monaſtery, and, leaving only an empty title to John, made himſelf maſter of the empire in 1689.

Peter the ſucceſſor of Fædor.

Attempts of the princeſs Sophia.

That

Scheme of reforming the empire.

That prince, bred up in ignorance by an ambitious ſiſter, addicted to wine and debauchery, of a habit which led him to be guilty of every exceſs, but of a genius capable of executing the greateſt enterpriſes, had already conceived the ſcheme of reforming the empire. He wanted to introduce arts, ſciences, military diſcipline, the advantages of a navy, and whatever had rendered the other ſtates of Europe flouriſhing; in one word, he wanted to create a new nation. When we reflect that the Ruſſians had all the prejudices of barbariſm, that they reckoned it a crime to go out of their own country, and looked upon foreigners with averſion, this project may appear chimerical: But if we conſider the influence of authority, and particularly the example of an abſolute ſovereign, the aſcendency of his genius, ſupported by invincible ſteadineſs, and the helps he might derive from the knowledge diffuſed in other countries, the deſign deſerves admiration, and the conſequence will be expected to enable us to judge with prudence.

This grand ſcheme not chimerical.

Le Fort the confidant of the czar.

A ſingle ray of light ſometimes leads great men to incredible ſucceſs. The czar wanted only ideas, and they were given to him by le Fort, a Genevan of birth and merit, who was the principal inſtrument of a moſt wonderful revolution. He was a young man, whom the fire of youth and a deſire of making his fortune had drawn to Moſcow. Peter having got acquainted with him, favoured him with his friendſhip, and perhaps this ſolid union had

pleaſure

pleaſure for its baſis ; but, even in pleaſures, the ſociety of le Fort gave birth to great deſigns. He had ſeen a great deal, but without ſtudying any thing thoroughly ; and his penetrating genius was to enlighten and direct that of the czar.

His firſt attempts for the army and marine.

The army and the marine were the main objects which at firſt engaged the attention of that prince. Being reſolved, in ſome future period, to aboliſh the Strelitz, whoſe dreadful ſeditions ſometimes ſhook the throne, he undertook to form officers and ſoldiers, and to make them ſubmit to a diſcipline hitherto unknown. Le Fort began with one company, which increaſed to a regiment of twelve thouſand men. To ſet an example of ſubordination to the boyards, Peter ſerved in the quality of a drummer, and advanced gradually, one ſtep after another, in his army : He purſued his plan with wonderful zeal, and, by ſteady perſeverence, accompliſhed his purpoſe. He took the ſame meaſures to form a navy ; he cauſed veſſels to be built by foreigners, and learnt the art of working them ; and, though he had ſcarce a ſhadow of a fleet, he appointed le Fort admiral, always enlarging his views in the glorious career which he had opened to himſelf.

Treaty of peace with the Chineſe.

In 1689 he concluded a treaty with Camhi, emperour of China, on account of ſome forts, for which they contended near the river Amur. Seven Chineſe ambaſſadours preſented themſelves upon the ſpot, and the boundaries were ſettled. China had never before ſent an embaſſy, nor concluded

cluded a treaty with any other power. "This nation," says M. de Voltaire, "so renowned for the practice of morality, was ignorant of what we call *the law of nations*; that is, those indetermined regulations of war and peace, privileges of publick ministers, forms of treaties, the obligations which are the consequence, disputes about precedency and the point of honour." Two Jesuit missionaries smoothed the way for this unheard of negotiation between two nations whose languages had nothing in common. The treaty was drawn up in Latin, and engraven upon two large pieces of marble, intended to mark the limits between the two empires. *The Sovereign Lord of all things* was invoked against those who should violate their oath; and it seemed that both parties respected the same God.

War with the Turks.

The emperour Leopold, Poland, and Venice, were at that time at war with the Turks; and Russia had already made a diversion in their favour. Peter being desirous to inure his troops to war, and to profit by favourable conjunctures, undertook the siege of Azoph. This place, situated at the mouth of the Don, (the ancient Tanais) commands the sea, to which it gives its name, and opens a passage into the Euxine. The Ottoman empire had the greatest reason to preserve it, and the Russian to make a conquest of it. A first siege, in 1695, did not succeed, but the next year it was carried by the czar in person. His little fleet defeated the

Taking of Azoph.

zaicks

*zaicks** of Conſtantinople ; an advantage likely to increaſe his confidence. A triumphal entry which he made at Moſcow, when he walked among the crowd of officers in the train of the generals, was very well calculated to inſpire courage and military ſubordination.

Triumph at Moſcow.

The genius of Peter would have been fettered, if it had not been for the foreigners he retained in his ſervice. What models could he find in Ruſſia, or what means for the execution? The more he learnt from thoſe foreigners, the more was he ſenſible of the neceſſity of ſeeking information ; and his paſſionate deſire of performing great actions, inſpired him with the reſolution of going to the fountain of knowledge in perſon. He thought that he ſhould withdraw from his dominions for a time, to travel as a private perſon, not as a monarch, and to ſearch for whatever could be of uſe to his own empire, at the extremities of Europe. He named three ambaſſadours, le Fort and two Ruſſians, whom he intended to viſit the powers with whom he was in alliance ; and, having prudently provided for the wants of the ſtate, and the management of publick affairs, entered into the train of the ambaſſadours.

Peter reſolves to travel for inſtruction.

He began his journey by Livonia, the moſt fertile province of the north, and ſubject to the crown of Sweden. The governour of Riga, by refuſing him the ſatisfaction of viewing the fortifications, undoubtedly exaſperated that haughty

His route.

* A kind of veſſels proper for the Mediterranean.

ty temper, already premeditating ſome ſchemes againſt the young king, Charles XII. From thence he paſſed on to Germany, where the debauchery of the table was but too agreeable to the tenour of Peter's life. When heated with wine at an entertainment, he drew his ſword upon le Fort; but the ſorrow with which he was penetrated, and his having begged pardon, defaced the remembrance of his paſſion. Alexander, the murderer of Clitus, was leſs excuſable; ſince, by violating the rights of nature and friendſhip, he ſtifled the principles of an excellent education.

He is ſeized with a fit of rage againſt le Fort.

The czar in Holland and England.

It was in Holland that Peter became an object worthy of admiration, when, in the garb of a mechanick, known by the name of *maſter Peter*, (Peterbas) he learnt whatever belonged to ſhip building, labouring and living with the workmen. He likewiſe ſtudied anatomy, natural hiſtory, and the uſeful arts; eſteeming it his greateſt honour to practiſe whatever he wanted to eſtabliſh in his own dominions. He went to perfect himſelf in England, where he was taught the mathematical proportions to be obſerved in ſhip building, and conſtructed one, which has been regarded as a model. Having at laſt attached ſome choſen men, of every profeſſion, to his ſervice, ſuch as ſea officers, pilots, ſurgeons, gunners, ſailors, &c. he returned by the way of Vienna, either with a view of examining the German diſcipline, or to tranſact ſome political affairs with the emperour Leopold, who was in alliance with him againſt the

His return.

the Turks. He left Moſcow in April 1697, and did not return till September 1698; when his preſence was become neceſſary.

Diſcontent of the Ruſſians. Rebellion of the Strelitz.

A barbarous, ignorant people are more eaſily provoked than others, at innovations which contradict the cuſtoms and manners of their country. The Ruſſians ſaw unknown practices introduced by crowds of foreigners, and were provoked at the ſovereign for having abſented himſelf to acquire knowledge, and ſending his ſubjects into other countries for improvement. He was taxed with impiety, for having granted permiſſion to the Engliſh to ſell tobacco in Ruſſia; for the uſe of tobacco was prohibited by the prieſts as ſinful; which laſt motive particularly rouſed the minds of the malecontents. They reſolved to place the princeſs Sophia upon the throne; and the Strelitz, who were diſperſed towards Lithuania, having aſſembled, revolted, and marched to Moſcow; where they were met by the new regular troops commanded by Shein a Pruſſian, and Gordon a Scotchman, and were totally defeated, which added to their hatred of foreigners.

This dangerous militia aboliſhed.

Happily, the czar appeared when he was leaſt expected. His diſpoſition was cruel; he thought ſeverity was neceſſary upon this occaſion, and commanded numbers to be put to death. Two thouſand of the Strelitz were ſacrificed, the greateſt part of the others confined at the extremity of the empire, and the remainder formed into ſome regiments, from whom no dangerous attempts were apprehended.

"Oſman, the ſultan of the Turks," ſays M. de Voltaire, "was, in the ſame age, depoſed and "murdered, for having only given room to the "Janizaries to ſuſpect that he intended to leſſen "their number. Peter, having taken his meaſ-"ures better, was more fortunate." What is it of which a vigorous government is not capable, when it prepares for the execution of its deſigns with prudence*?

A general reformation.

Then it was that a general reformation began, not only in the army, but likewiſe in the adminiſtration, the manners, the cuſtoms, and alſo in the church. It could only be attempted by an abſolute prince; and, for the execution, all the deſpotiſm of the czar was diſplayed. By it he at leaſt laid the foundation of the real grandeur of the empire, and, we may add, the happineſs of the Ruſſians; if a people, by becoming civilized, can be truly happy without being free. Le Fort died, but this loſs did not alter the plan of reformation. As the diſlike to foreigners was one of the great obſtructions to the deſigns of the czar, he thought it neceſſary to aboliſh the external marks by which they were diſtinguiſhed from his ſubjects, who wore their beards and clothes long. His example was ſufficient to effect it at court, but the people were ſo obſtinate, that it was neceſſary to employ violence. A tax was laid upon the refractory, and the clothes and beards of thoſe who refuſed to pay were cut. According to the writer of the czar's hiſtory, this was executed with an air of gaiety which prevented ſeditions,

Beards and long habits forbidden, and cut.

ditions, though undoubtedly there was enough to occaſion them; but probably fear had a greater effect than a diſſembled gaiety; beſides, the bulk of the people ſtill preſerve their old dreſs.

Patriarch aboliſhed.

Peter had experienced how dangerous the clergy became by their prejudices and cabals, when they acquire too great power. The patriarch being dead, that great dignity was ſuppreſſed, and the revenue added to the crown, the church receiving its laws from Peter, who kept it in conſtant ſubjection.

Law to leſſen the number of monks.

Being deſirous to leſſen the number of monks, which he thought was the more hurtful to the ſtate as the empire wanted inhabitants, he forbid their being admitted into the cloiſter before the age of fifty. If this law had continued, it had undoubtedly put an end to the monaſtick life, which has always had zealous defenders.

Other reformations.

The beginning of the year was fixed at the firſt of January, inſtead of the firſt of September, the uſe of paper for writing was commanded, the cuſtom of marrying, without the parties having ſeen each other, was wiſely aboliſhed; and theſe were reformations effected by the czar. A ſocial ſpirit was diffuſed with the increaſe of knowledge, which time alone could bring to perfection.

Project of extending his empire towards the Baltick.

When this prince was employing himſelf in the docks of Sardam in Holland, to learn the art of conſtructing and navigating ſhips, he undoubtedly conceived the deſign of creating a powerful navy, which might make him reſpected

in Europe, and attract commerce into his dominions: But the port of Archangel, upon the White Sea, coming from which it is neceſſary to double Lapland and Norway, was badly ſituated for his purpoſe, ſince for ſeven months in the year it is inacceſſible. The ſea of Azoph and the Caſpian were ſtill more inconvenient, from their diſtance, though in other reſpects advantageous. It was therefore eſſentially neceſſary to extend his empire towards the Baltick. If he was actuated by ambition to ſeize from Sweden what ſhe poſſeſſed on that coaſt, it was the ambition of a vaſt genius, which does not indulge itſelf in chimeras.

Treaty of Carlowitz.

By the treaty of Carlowitz with the Turk in 1699, Peter kept the important conqueſt of Azoph, but he had only obtained a truce of two years; however, he got it prolonged to twenty, and dedicated all his attention to the aggrandizement of his empire on the ſide of Europe. We ſhall now ſee him engaged with another Alexander.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Riſe of CHARLES XII. *King of* SWEDEN.—*He triumphs over all his Enemies, and dethrones* AUGUSTUS *King of* POLAND.

AT the death of Charles XI. king of Sweden, in 1697, his ſon Charles XII. was only fifteen years of age, and ſeemed incapable of acquiring reputation on the throne; however, ſome circumſtances which happened while he was very young, gave tokens of heroick qualities. Though obſtinate, and averſe from ſtudy, yet, when it was recommended as a means of acquiring glory, he got the better of his reluctance. He was particularly fond of reading Quintus Curtius, and one day when his preceptor aſked him what he thought of Alexander, he replied—*I think I could wiſh to reſemble him.*—*But he only lived to the age of thirty two,* added the preceptor.—*Is not that enough, when a man has conquered kingdoms?* This reply of the young prince was the occaſion of his father's ſaying, that he would exceed the great Guſtavus. When he aſcended the throne, and was freed from the regency of his mother, all hopes of him were diſpelled; he gave no application, and ſhewed he was of an impetuous, haughty temper; but danger very ſoon unveiled his genius and diſpoſition. Three powerful enemies joined in a league to oppreſs him; and in that very inſtant he ſhewed himſelf a great

Youth of Charles XII.

Tokens of his propenſity to war.

Enemies by whom he is threatened.

great man. Let us trace from its ſource a war of eighteen years, which laid waſte the north, at the very time the ſouthern countries of Europe were in a flame about the Spaniſh ſucceſſion.

Charles XI. violated the privileges of the Livonians.

Thouſands of examples prove that deſpotiſm is contrary to the true intereſt of ſovereigns; of which the following is a very remarkable inſtance. On the ſouth ſide of the gulph of Finland, Sweden had got poſſeſſion of Eſtonia and Livonia; an acquiſition which was confirmed by the treaty of Olivia. She left the Livonians their privileges, for new ſubjects are at firſt treated with gentleneſs, but, according to the practice of deſpots, Charles XI. violated them when he thought it was for his advantage.

Patkul excites three monarchs to join againſt Sweden.

Patkul, at the head of a deputation from Livonia, having claimed the rights of his country with a bold freedom, was condemned to ſuffer death; but he eſcaped, breathing indignation and revenge. After the death of that monarch, he found no difficulty to perſuade the king of Poland, (Auguſtus elector of Saxony) and afterwards the czar Peter, that the weakneſs of the young king Charles XII. preſented a valuable opportunity of recovering from Sweden thoſe provinces which they had formerly loſt.

Grounds of the war with Denmark.

Frederick IV. king of Denmark, was no leſs inclined to take advantage of contingencies. The ancient convention of Chriſtian III. with his brother Adolphus, with regard to the dutchies of Holſtein Gottorp and Sleſwick, which the kings of Denmark and the duke of Holſtein ought to poſſeſs in common, was an inexhauſtible ſource of diſputes between the two branches.

branches. The duke of Holſtein, the brother in law of Charles, being attacked by Frederick, had gone to Stockholm, and Sweden was already threatened by the arms of Denmark.

Aſtoniſhing reſolution of young Charles.

It was deliberated in council what means ſhould be employed to avert ſo many dangers; and ſome of the council propoſing to try negotiation—*I am reſolved*, ſaid the young king, *never to carry on an unjuſt war, and never to finiſh a juſt one until I have ruined my enemies. I ſhall attack the firſt who declares againſt me, and by defeating him I hope to deter the reſt.* He inſtantly gave orders to prepare for war, changed his manner of living, reduced himſelf to the ſimpleſt dreſs, to the moſt frugal and common diet, renouncing all pleaſures, and dedicating his life to fatigue and dangers.

1700. Frederick IV. forced to accept a peace.

The king of Denmark had attacked Holſtein, the king of Poland Livonia, and the Ruſſians poured upon Ingria, a neighbouring province likewiſe belonging to Sweden. Charles XII. having embarked, very ſoon landed on the iſland of Zealand, where Copenhagen is ſituated, and made that capital tremble. Frederick made haſte to conclude a peace, by indemnifying the duke of Holſtein. This firſt war was at an end in ſix weeks. Having, for the firſt time, heard the whiſtling of balls, which were fired at him, Charles ſaid—*Well, for the future this ſhall be my muſick.* He accuſtomed himſelf to it but too much; and that irreſiſtible paſſion for war was ſeen to ſpring up, which nothing could diſarm.

Auguſtus,

The Ruſſians defeated at Narva.

Auguſtus, king of Poland, had already raiſed the ſiege of Riga, the capital of Livonia; when Charles, impatient to be revenged of the czar, whom he with reaſon accuſed of having violated recent treaties of peace, haſtened into Ingria, in the month of September, at the head of about nine thouſand men. The Ruſſian army, of about ſixty thouſand, had laid ſiege to Narva; when, taking advantage of a heavy ſnow, which the wind blew in their faces, he attacked them, and forced their intrenchments. Being ſeized with a panick, amidſt the confuſion principally occaſioned by a want of diſcipline, thirty thouſand men ſurrendered priſoners to a ſmall number of Swedes: The artillery, conſiſting of forty five pieces of cannon, their camp, baggage, and every thing, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Such was the firſt campaign of a king of ſeventeen.

The czar is not diſcouraged.

While the Ruſſians offered up lamentations to their patron ſaint Nicholas, and repeated an abſurd prayer, compoſed by a biſhop, in which the Swedes were repreſented as execrable ſorcerers, the czar was buſily employed to repair his misfortune. Far from being diſheartened, he was ſenſible that the excellent diſcipline of the enemy, and even their victories, would contribute to form his troops.—*They will long continue ſuperiour to us*, ſaid he, *but they will teach us at laſt to conquer.*

His preparations followed by ſucceſs.

Peter made new preparations, and even the bells of Moſcow were melted into cannon; the lakes of Peipus and Ladoga were covered with half galleys to fight the ſhips of Sweden;

Sweden; and all theſe works were directed by the prince, who gradually reaped the fruit of his application. The campaigns of 1701 and 1702 were a mixture of loſs and ſucceſs, both upon land and upon the lakes; but a victory which was gained by general Sheremetow, was followed by the taking of Marienburg, a ſmall town on the confines of Livonia and Ingria. It was at this place that a young woman of Livonia, called Catharine, was made priſoner, who from captivity aſcended the throne, ſucceeded the czar, and worthily ſupplied his place.

Catharine taken priſoner.

Noteburg, at preſent Shluſſelburg, (the key town) a ſtrong place ſituated on an iſland in the lake of Ladoga, and which may be called the key of Ingria and Finland, could not reſiſt the efforts of the Ruſſians, who mounted three breaches when they gave the aſſault: There ſcarcely remained a hundred Swedes capable of ſervice, yet they would not capitulate till they had leave to prove the place could no longer be defended. By their ancient diſcipline they always did wonders. Mentzikow, who had been a paſtry cook in his youth, but at this time was the favourite of the czar, decorated with the title of Prince, and, by his abilities and ſervices, worthy of favour, was appointed governour of this new conqueſt. His ſucceſs was a motive for inſpiring emulation and jealouſy, and it was of great importance to prefer men who were born to perform noble actions.

Important conqueſt of the Ruſſians.

Swediſh diſcipline.

Prince Mentzikow.

The king of Sweden, who was always victorious, had, in the mean time, reduced Courland, croſſed Lithuania, and penetrated into the

The foundation of Peterſburg laid during the victories of Charles.

the heart of Poland, where he wanted to dethrone Auguſtus, and afterwards to fall with his whole force upon Ruſſia. Peter only executed his deſigns with the greater ardour; and, while he was employed in carrying on the war, and ſending aid to his ally, laid the foundation of Peterſburg at the bottom of the gulph of Finland, in a marſhy country ſituated upon the Newa, which joins the lake of Ladoga. An infinite number of obſtacles was ſurmounted in the execution of this undertaking; and at the end of five months a Dutch veſſel came to carry on a trade at Peterſburg, which then only conſiſted of two brick houſes and ſome cottages (1703.) This growing town was very ſoon ſecured, by erecting the fort of Kronſlot.

Taking of Narva; the conqueſt of Ingria by the Ruſſians.

In 1704 the czar, in perſon, laid ſiege to Narva, and took it by aſſault; by this means wiping away the ſtain of the famous defeat of his troops by Charles XII. and, what did him ſtill greater honour, he endeavoured to ſtop the brutal fury of his ſoldiers, which it is ſo difficult to reſtrain after an aſſault, while they are intoxicated with ſucceſs. Two of them, who diſobeyed his orders, he killed with his own hands, and laying his ſword afterwards upon the table of the town houſe—*This ſword*, ſaid he to the conquered, *is ſtained with the blood of my own ſoldiers, which I ſpilt for your preſervation.* Too often cruel, in this inſtance he did homage to humanity. All Ingria ſubmitted to the yoke, and prince Mentzikow was appointed governour. Peter had lately been lieutenant of bombardeers, under his command.

Let

Let us rapidly follow the Swediſh hero, who gave law to Poland, dethroned Auguſtus, cauſed another king to be choſen, and who ſeemed to fight with no other intention than to humble his enemies, without intending to profit by his victories.

A picture of Poland, miſerable from the conſtitution of its government.

In a ſtate ſo badly conſtituted as Poland, where the people are ſlaves, and cruelly oppreſſed; where the provinces, though fertile, are exceſſively poor; where an independent nobility free themſelves from almoſt every obligation; where the deliberations of the diets are defeated by the oppoſition of one of the nobles; where the moſt important affairs are decided by the ſword; where ſeditious confederacies tear in pieces the republick, upon pretence of maintaining the laws; where the authority of an elective king conſtantly gives umbrage to the licentiouſneſs, rather than to the liberty of the nobles; where the malecontents have always to oppoſe to him the *pacta conventa*, which he ſwears at his conſecration to obſerve, and diſpenſes his ſubjects from their obedience, if he dares to violate them; where the country is expoſed, from a perſuaſion that fortreſſes would only ſerve to keep them in ſubjection; where civil order and military diſcipline are equally unknown; in a word, where all the abuſes of the ancient Gothick government ſubſiſt, with this difference, that the body of the people are regarded as nothing, and a corrupt nobility commonly ſell their ſuffrages: In ſuch a miſerable republick, which nature ſeemed to intend for a flouriſhing

flouriſhing ſtate, it was almoſt impoſſible for Auguſtus to reſiſt Charles of Sweden.

King Auguſtus was expoſed to cabals in that country.

Being accuſtomed to abſolute government in Saxony, he carried principles and ideas into Poland little ſuited to the genius of the nation. The Poles did not approve of the ſcheme of conquering Livonia, as they foreſaw that ſuch a conqueſt would make him more formidable to themſelves; they loudly exclaimed againſt a war undertaken without their conſent, and the party who at firſt oppoſed his election, already began to form cabals. Cardinal Radjouſki, archbiſhop of Gneſna, primate of the kingdom, all powerful from his dignity, and equally dangerous from his artifices, ſecretly meditated a revolution. The generals and the great officers of the crown, though indebted to the king for their employments, were ſcarcely dependent upon him, becauſe, though he had the right of appointment, he could not diſplace them. Auguſtus, having nobody upon whom he could depend but his Saxons, and purſued by a dreadful perſevering conqueror, was reduced to the greateſt extremity. The important details which I am obliged to ſuppreſs, ſhould be read in the hiſtory of Charles XII.

Purſued by Charles,

who makes himſelf maſter of Poland.

Charles having made himſelf maſter of Warſaw in 1702, declared that he would not conſent to a peace till another king was choſen. Auguſtus was then at Cracow; and being reſolved to come to action, was defeated at Cliſſaw, by an army only half his number: Cracow was taken; a Saxon general was defeated the next year; and Dantzick, Thorn, and Elbing, free

cities

cities by their privileges, were obliged to pay a ranſom for having made reſiſtance. The primate, who had hitherto preſerved the maſk of fidelity, declared againſt the king at the aſſembly of Warſaw, and in 1704 the throne was declared vacant. Upon the refuſal of prince Alexander Sobieſki, one of the ſons of the famous king of that name, Charles cauſed the election to fall upon Staniſlaus Leczinſki, a palatine of Poſnania, and treaſurer of the crown, a young nobleman in whom he found ſeveral features of his own character.

Election of Staniſlaus Leczinſki.

The czar did not abandon Auguſtus; but, at a conference which they had at Grodno in Lithuania, they formed a new plan of operations. Sixty thouſand Ruſſians diſperſed in Poland, only ſerved to lay waſte the country, and were every where defeated in ſmall parties by the Swedes. Schullenburg, an able Saxon general, was defeated and put to flight at the battle of Franſtadt, in 1706, by general Renchild, with an army greatly inferiour, when fear did more than the arms of the enemy, and every thing was decided almoſt in a moment. Charles very ſoon made himſelf maſter of Saxony, which he laid under heavy contributions, but maintained that rigorous diſcipline which was the principal ſource of his victories.

The Swedes defeat the Ruſſians and Saxons.

Auguſtus being driven to deſpair, ſecretly ſued for peace; and the conditions preſcribed by Charles were, that he ſhould renounce his crown, acknowledge Staniſlaus, and deliver up Patkul. That Livonian was in the ſervice of Ruſſia, and had been ſent by the czar to the king

Auguſtus negotiates privately.

king of Poland in quality of general and ambaſſadour. During the negotiation, prince Mentzikow, from whom Auguſtus carefully concealed every thing, almoſt obliged him to attack a Swediſh general at Kaliſk. The Ruſſians made the attack, and gained the victory, which was the firſt time of their defeating the Swedes in a regular engagement; however, Auguſtus ſhamefully ſubmitted to the terms preſcribed by Charles, and ſigned a treaty without being able to procure better terms than the firſt. He was even obliged to write a complimentary letter to Staniſlaus; and Patkul, who was already confined upon an unjuſt ſuſpicion, was given up to the king of Sweden, who, notwithſtanding the complaints of the czar, cauſed the miniſter of that great prince to be broken upon the wheel. The ſentence gave to Charles the title of moſt clement prince. *What clemency!* exclaimed Patkul. Hearing himſelf condemned as a traitor to his country—*Alas!* added he, *I have ſerved it but too well.* We here ſee to what degree of injuſtice deſpotiſm can hurry even great ſouls.

He ſubmits to every thing, even after a victory.

Death of Patkul.

Embaſſy to Charles XII.

This peace, which was concluded in the camp of Altrenſtat, near Leipſick, completed the fame of Charles XII. and, while there, he received a crowd of ambaſſadours. The war which was kindled againſt France and Spain ſet all Europe in commotion, and every power was ſolicitous of his alliance. It was ſuſpected that he was inclined to join Louis XIV. though in 1700 he had promiſed a neutrality. The duke of Marlborough, who was as great a negotiator as

as general, came to found his intentions, and having ſoon diſcovered his deſign of carrying the war into Ruſſia, left him without having made any propoſals. The haughty and fortunate emperour Joſeph yielded in ſeveral points which were required of him by the king of Sweden, before he quitted Germany; particularly in favour of the proteſtants of Sileſia.

His viſit to the dethroned king Auguſtus.

In 1707 Saxony was delivered from the Swedes, who ſet out from that country loaded with plunder. Their hero, who made ſport of every kind of danger, took a fancy, in paſſing, to pay a viſit to Auguſtus. He hurried on before his army with ſome general officers, and, under a borrowed name, preſented himſelf at the gate of Dreſden: He entered, in his boots, the apartment of the king whom he had reduced to his electorate, and having breakfaſted with him, viſited the fortifications, and then joined his army, who were uneaſy at his abſence. *I truſted*, ſaid he, *to my good fortune*.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

CHARLES XII. *defeated at* PULTAWA, *flees into* TURKY.—*The Campaign of* PRUTH *fatal to the* CZAR.—*His Peace with the* TURKS.—*Continuation of the* WAR *in the North.*

Obſtinacy of Charles XII. againſt the czar.

THE czar was very near cauſing an election of a third king of Poland: It was thought of in a diet held at Lublin; and ſome palatines were propoſed, which would have been a new ſource of deſtruction and horrours for this ruined republick. However, the miniſter of France in Saxony endeavoured to reconcile the Swedes and Ruſſians. Charles bluntly declared that he would treat with the czar in Moſcow, and his preſumption gave room for that excellent expreſſion of Peter the Great—*My brother Charles wants to play the part of Alexander, but he ſhall not find me a Darius.* Here is the period in which a change of fortune befel that hero, who, from his faults and obſtinacy, was more deſerving of cenſure, than of admiration for his heroiſm.

1708. He plunges imprudently into the heart of the Ukraine.

At the head of forty five thouſand men he entered Lithuania, where the czar then was; and having taken Grodno from him, advanced towards the Dnieper, (the Boryſthenes) when he defeated a great body of Ruſſians advantageouſly intrenched behind a torrent and moraſs at Holozin. He found himſelf upon the road to Moſcow; but inſtead of purſuing it, having croſſed

croſſed the Dnieper, he turned to the ſouth, and plunged into the Ukraine, the country of the Coſſacks, which he expected ſoon to ſubdue, and then to fall upon the capital of Ruſſia. The old Mazeppa, hetman or chief of the Coſſacks, who had betrayed his ſovereign the czar, inſpired the king of Sweden with this fatal reſolution, by promiſing to join him with an army, and to find him both proviſions and money; promiſes which prudence ſhould have weighed, but were truſted without examination.

Mazeppa could not prevail with the Coſſacks to revolt.

Expoſed to imminent dangers, he marched towards the Deſna, which empties itſelf into the Dnieper, the place where Mazeppa was to have joined him; but his attempts to engage the Coſſacks in rebellion were fruitleſs. He did not appear, and proviſions began to fail; but general Lewenhaupt was advancing with ſixteen thouſand men, and all ſorts of proviſions, from Livonia; yet this great reſource ſoon vaniſhed, for Peter followed the general beyond the Dnieper, attacked him three following days, and at length defeated him. The Swedes loſt above eight thouſand men, all their cannon and convoy. In the heat of the action, the czar obſerving ſome of his army giving way, gave orders to fire upon the fugitives, and even upon himſelf if he retired.

Peter defeats Lewenhaupt.

He revenges himſelf of Mazeppa.

Being informed of Mazeppa's treachery, he ſent Mentzikow into the Ukraine, when Bathurin, the capital, the magazines and money of the hetman were taken, and himſelf hanged in effigy. All his promiſes terminated in join-

ing Charles with two or three thouſand men, the reſt of the Coſſacks refuſing to follow him.

Charles continues his route.

Notwithſtanding the defeat of Lewenhaupt, who brought only the wreck of his army, and the exceſſive cold, which killed near two thouſand Swedes on one march, the king of Sweden, deſtitute of proviſions, continued his route through an unknown country, inceſſantly expoſed to the attacks of the enemy, and croſſed the whole Ukraine in the depth of winter 1709. Having arrived before Pultawa, he laid ſiege to that town, from whence he expected to purſue his march to Moſcow, and to overturn the throne of the czar.

Battle of Pultawa, where he is defeated by the czar.

The famous battle of Pultawa, in which both the monarchs equally ſignalized their courage and abilities, at laſt put an end to all his hopes. Charles having been wounded ſome days before, was carried about in a litter, which was beaten in pieces by a cannon ſhot during the action. Peter, like him, was found in the midſt of the hotteſt fire; and an engagement which laſted only two hours, coſt the lives of nine thouſand Swedes. Fourteen thouſand were taken priſoners, among which number was the firſt miniſter, count Piper, whoſe prudent counſels had not always been followed, Renchild, Lewenhaupt, and other generals. The Ruſſians loſt only about thirteen hundred men. "What is moſt important in this battle," ſays the celebrated hiſtorian of the czar, "is, that "of all thoſe which have ſtained the earth "with blood, it is the ſingle one which, in-"ſtead of occaſioning only deſtruction, has

"contributed

" contributed to the happineſs of the human " race, by enabling the czar to civilize a great " part of the earth." It is at leaſt certain, that the greatneſs of Ruſſia depended upon the life of one man; we ſhall ſee whether proper methods have been taken for its civilization.

His flight into Turky.

This formidable monarch Charles XII. compelled to fly, and even on horſeback, though not able to mount one during the action, will appear, from this time, only an illuſtrious example of the viciſſitudes of fortune, or rather, of the woes men bring upon themſelves who make an ill uſe of proſperity. Though his ſtrength was exhauſted, he croſſed the Dnieper, and then the Bogh (the ancient Hypanis.) He ſought an aſylum in Turky, without deigning to write to the grand vizir. His unconquerable haughtineſs and obſtinacy always prevented him from regulating his conduct by circumſtances.

How the czar profited by the victory.

Peter, who was incomparably more prudent, thought of profiting by the victory; and having invited the principal Swediſh priſoners to his table, ſaid to them—*I drink to the healths of my maſters in the art of war*; an expreſſion equally honourable for him and for them. He continued to ſhew that their leſſons had rendered him worthy of being their conqueror. He made haſte to reſtore Auguſtus to the throne of Poland, and entered into a league with that prince, the king of Denmark, and the elector of Brandenburg, the firſt king of Pruſſia. After having made a triumphal entry into Moſcow, where he only appeared in quality of a major general,

1710. Conqueſt of Karelia and Livonia.

(how greatly muſt ſuch ceremonies have animated the Ruſſians!) he ſet out to take Wibourg, the capital of Karelia in Finland, and made himſelf maſter of Riga, the capital of Livonia. Both theſe provinces fell under his dominion.

Inſtance of deſpotiſm in Charles.

A Swediſh general ſtill had eleven thouſand men in Pomerania; but the regency of Stockholm, not knowing whether the king was dead or alive, ſigned a neutrality for theſe troops. When Charles heard of this, he wrote to the ſenate, that *he would ſend one of his boots to govern them.* He thought he commanded ſlaves.

Intrigues at Conſtantinople in his favour.

With his train of eighteen hundred men he encamped near Bender, and was generouſly treated by the court of Conſtantinople; but he wanted that they ſhould arm in his favour, and his agents employed as much addreſs in their intrigues there, as his demeanour was haughty in his camp. A grand vizir who diſapproved his deſigns, was diſgraced; another, who imagined there was no lawful cauſe for going to war, was likewiſe diſmiſſed, for reaſons little known. A third determined the ſultan Achmet III. to take up arms. The kan of the Crim Tartars had great influence in this reſolution. Being in the vicinity of Azoph, he had every thing to dread from the Ruſſians; and, as a vaſſal of the Porte, he had the ſame intereſts.

The czar's ambaſſadour arreſted.

When the ſultan had determined to go to war, the divan (the council of the grand ſignor) cauſed the ambaſſadour of the czar to be arreſted. This odious practice among the

Turks

Turks is founded upon their contempt of the Chriſtians; the law of nations being the more indifferent in their eyes, as they have no ambaſſadour in ordinary reſiding at other courts. A very extraordinary thing is, that a little before this, the czar had received the ſame affront in London in time of profound peace, his ambaſſadour being impriſoned for debt at the ſuit of a merchant; but as the Engliſh laws did not decree that an offence of this nature, which could not be eaſily foreſeen, was to be puniſhed with death, all the ſatisfaction he could obtain was, that the authors of the inſult were declared criminal, the parliament confirmed the privileges of foreign miniſters, and queen Anne made a formal apology. As to the Turk, the inſult remained unpuniſhed, if he was not defeated.

Catharine, Peter's ſecond wife.

Peter haſtened his preparations, but, before war was begun, he gave an extraordinary example of that ſtrength of mind which riſes above prejudices. The young Livonian captive, Catharine, whoſe elevation I mentioned before, found means to gain his affection and confidence, by a degree of merit rarely to be met with in the higheſt condition. In 1696 he had divorced his firſt wife, who was born his ſubject. It is the cuſtom in Ruſſia for the emperour to aſſemble a number of beautiful women of his own empire, and to chooſe a wife from among them, upon which occaſion the nobility are not intitled to any preference. However ſurpriſing ſuch a cuſtom, which is very ancient in the Eaſt, may appear in our eyes, it may be

Cuſtom of the czars to marry one of their ſubjects.

be queſtioned if that of the European princes is much better, eſpecially when we ſee ſo many wars and revolutions in conſequence of their marriages with foreign princeſſes. The czar had at laſt privately married Catharine in 1707, and declared his marriage the very day he began his march againſt the Turks. Catharine accompanied him whereever he went, ſhared with him the ſame fatigues and dangers, ſoothed his ſorrows, and moderated his tranſports: But ſhe was now to render him a more important ſervice.

1711. Cantemir, the vaivode, deceives him by vain hopes.

The ſame fault of which Charles XII. had been guilty by truſting to the Coſſacks, Peter likewiſe committed by depending upon a revolt which did not take place. Cantemir, the vaivode of Moldavia, gave him deceitful expectations. That province and Walachia, formerly known by the name of Dacia, were dependent on the Turks, and governed by petty princes or vaivodes, who were chriſtians nominated by the grand ſignor. So true it is, as we formerly mentioned, that a political toleration is admitted into the Mahometan ſyſtem. Notwithſtanding the mutual hatred between Turks and Chriſtians, the laſt ought to be afraid to rebel, if they are not very certain of ſucceſs. The intrigues of Cantemir to gain the other vaivode, only occaſioned a ſlight agitation. Both provinces remained in ſubmiſſion, and the czar, who was perſuaded that he ſhould find both proviſions and troops, advanced too raſhly, and found himſelf in a moſt dangerous ſituation.

He

He paſted the Nieſter, the river upon which Bender is ſituated, and penetrated into Moldavia as far as Jaſſi upon the Pruth, a river which runs into the Danube. The Ottoman army, which is ſaid to have amounted to near two hundred and fifty thouſand men, comprehending the Tartars, paſſed the Pruth, ſurrounded the czar, cut off the communication between him and a conſiderable reinforcement which he expected, and he had only about forty thouſand to oppoſe to this dreadful multitude. The Ruſſians were already ſo well diſciplined, that their rear guard ſuſtained an action of three hours againſt the Turks, whom they repulſed, after having killed ſeven thouſand of their men; but the want of proviſions, or the ſuperiority of the enemy, ſeemed to announce an irremediable diſaſter.

Campaign of Pruth.

Extreme danger of the Ruſſians.

Diſtracted with diſquiet to ſuch a degree as to occaſion convulſions, the czar commanded that no perſon ſhould enter his tent; but, happily, Catharine had courage to diſobey theſe orders; ſhe adviſed and perſuaded him to negotiate with the grand vizir, collected whatever ſhe could for the preſents, which, according to the oriental cuſtom, muſt be made before they enter upon buſineſs, choſe the envoy, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions. While an anſwer was expected, the generals and miniſters declared they were of opinion, that the army ought rather to fight their way through the enemy than ſurrender.

Catharine perſuades the czar to negotiate.

Whether it proceeded from a diſlike to the war, or from weakneſs, or motives of prudence, (for

Treaty of Falkſen with the grand vizir.

(for the reproach of corruption ſounds badly in the mouths of the Swedes) the vizir granted a peace, upon condition that the czar reſtored Azoph, demoliſhed the port of Tangarok upon the ſea of Azoph, with the fortreſſes which were built on that ſide, and did not diſturb the king of Sweden, if he returned to his own dominions.

Proceedings of the king of Sweden, who was enraged.

Charles, enraged at this new treaty, went to find the grand vizir, whom he loaded with every reproach, and with his ſpur tore the robe of that miniſter: He intrigued more than ever by his agents at Conſtantinople, and, though the vizir was diſgraced, drew upon himſelf an order to depart from Turky; but he treated the order with contempt, and, in his little camp at Bender, ventured to ſuſtain a ſiege againſt an army, in the year 1713; an attempt which might be taken for an adventure of don Quixote, if it were poſſible to call it in queſtion.

He loſes his poſſeſſions in Germany.

The loſs of his dominions in Germany was the conſequence of his obſtinacy. He ſent orders conſtantly to Sweden to fight, but to give up nothing; and though his kingdom was drained both of men and money, they durſt not diſobey him; they ſacrificed and ſuffered every thing, after the example of a hero, with whoſe unfortunate ſituation and patience they were not unacquainted. General Steenbock, who had vanquiſhed the Danes after the defeat of Pultawa, gained another victory in Pomerania in 1712, laid Altena in aſhes, but, however, was obliged, very ſoon after, to ſurrender himſelf with his ſmall army priſoners. Without dwelling upon the details, we ſhall only obſerve, that,

in

in 1713, Bremen, Verden, Stettin, and a part of Pomerania, were in the hands of the enemy, and the czar had taken poſſeſſion of the coaſt of Finland. Staniſlaus, deſirous to renounce the crown of Poland, in order to facilitate a peace, went into Turky, in hopes of prevailing with the obſtinate Charles, and both were priſoners with the Turks. Sweden could no longer reſiſt: The czar, king Auguſtus, the king of Denmark, and the elector of Hanover, having entered into an alliance, wreſted from her all the conqueſts formerly gained by Guſtavus Adolphus.

Staniſlaus in Turky.

If Peter the Great regretted Azoph, and the empire of the Black Sea, which he had loſt to the Turks by the treaty of Falkſen, he was made full amends by his ſucceſs upon the Baltick, where it was of the greateſt conſequence to render himſelf reſpectable. He ſeized the iſle of Aland, in the neighbourhood of Sweden, where he gained a battle by ſea over the Swedes, and took their admiral, Renchild, priſoner. He next made himſelf maſter of Finland, and, more than ever covered with glory, made a triumphal entry into Peterſburg, amidſt the monuments of his own labours. After the ceremony, he pronounced a diſcourſe, of which M. de Voltaire gives the ſubſtance:

1714. Succeſs of the czar on the Baltick.

Diſcourſe which he pronounced at Peterſburg.

" Is there any of you my brethren, who " thought, twenty years ago, that we ſhould " have fought in the Baltick on board ſhips " conſtructed by yourſelves, and that we ſhould " have acquired ſettlements in theſe countries,

" which

" which we have conquered by our perſeverance " and courage? ... The ancient ſeat of the ſci- " ences has been placed in Greece; they after- " wards fixed in Italy, from whence they made " their way into every country in Europe: It " is now our turn, if you will ſecond my views " by adding application to obedience. Arts " circulate in the world like the blood in the " human body, and perhaps they will fix their " empire among us, *to return into Greece*, their " ancient country. I dare hope, that, by our " labours and ſolid glory, we ſhall one day " eclipſe the moſt civilized nations." This diſcourſe is worthy of the creative genius who prepared ſo important a revolution. In ſaying, *to return into Greece*, did he imagine that the Ruſſians would one day carry the arts and ſciences thither? However bold the prediction, can it be taxed with being abſolutely chimerical?

Order of ſaint Catharine.

The order of ſaint Catharine was inſtituted by the czar, in honour of his ſpouſe, whom he had ſolemnly acknowledged; a new proof of the gratitude with which he was penetrated by a ſenſe of the importance of her ſervices.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

CHARLES XII. *returns into his own Dominions.—Intrigues of the Baron de* GORTZ.*—Death of the King, and Revolution in the Government of* SWEDEN.*—Peace of the North.*

IN the battle of Bender, the Turks had ſpared Charles XII. whom they might have eaſily killed, and who killed a number of them with his own hand. He was kept priſoner at Demotica, near Adrianople. Having loſt all hope of arming the Ottoman empire in his favour, he at laſt deſired leave to depart. The new grand vizir (for there was no end to the revolutions of the ſeraglio) wanted that he ſhould fix the day of his departure. Charles, whoſe conduct was always in extremes, ſent a pompous embaſſy to take leave, though he could not find the means for this expenſe but by borrowing money upon the moſt humiliating conditions.

Return of the king of Sweden into his dominions.

After having remained above five years in Turky, he ſet out in the beginning of October, 1714, diſmiſſed his Turkiſh eſcort on the frontiers, and, parting from his own people, put on a diſguiſe, in which, with two officers, he made almoſt the whole tour of Germany, going poſt either on horſeback or in carts, and never ſtopping. He arrived, the ſecond day of November, at Stralſund in Pomerania, a place of importance on the Baltick, of which the enemy wanted to get poſſeſſion.

The

1715. He is beſieged in Stralſund.

The Danes, Pruſſians, and Saxons, laid ſiege to it the next year, when, as uſual, he performed prodigies of valour. The town was bombarded, and a ſhell penetrated the roof of his houſe, and burſt near the apartment where he was dictating a letter. The ſecretary having let fall his pen—*Go on*, ſaid he coldly; *what has the bomb to do with the letter which I am dictating?* The enemy gave the aſſault at the horn work, where he repulſed them twice, fighting in the midſt of his grenadiers; but the work being at laſt carried, he was obliged to yield to the entreaties of his general officers, and retire in a ſmall bark, where two of the men were killed by a cannon ſhot from a Daniſh battery. Stralſund yielded next day, and Wiſmar was reduced ſoon after; ſo that Charles loſt every thing he had in Germany.

His retreat.

New preparations for war.

He paſſed the winter in Carleſcroon, without having any inclination to ſhew himſelf in his capital, after an abſence of fifteen years. He ordered new preparations for continuing the war; the young people were enrolled, and the ſtate was completely ruined, by laying on every imaginable impoſt. "The people, oppreſſed "with ſuch exactions," ſays M. de Voltaire, "would have revolted under any other king: "But the moſt wretched peaſant of Sweden "knew, that his maſter lived a harder and "more frugal life than himſelf; and therefore "all, without murmuring, ſubmitted to thoſe "rigours which the king was the firſt to ſuffer." How great then muſt have been their affection, if they had not reaſon to impute all their ſuffer-

Exactions.

ings

ings to him? The kingdom was in danger, yet Charles attempted to take Norway from Denmark; and having invaded that country with an army of twenty thouſand men, without having provided for their ſubſiſtence, ſcarcity obliged him immediately to return.

Intrigues of the baron de Gortz.

In the mean time, the baron de Gortz, a native of Franconia, having become his prime miniſter, and governing that temper which had been hitherto untractable, contrived ſome intrigues, which threatened a great revolution. This miniſter, of a vaſt genius, active, artful, inſinuating, and audacious, capable of aſſuming all kinds of forms, and employing every means, intended to conclude a peace and alliance with the czar, and then to deſtroy the other enemies of Sweden. He principally directed his views againſt George I. king of England, elector of Hanover, who had purchaſed Bremen and Verden, with their dependencies, from the king of Denmark. He not only intended to deprive him of thoſe provinces, but to ſet the pretender on the throne of England; and cardinal Alberoni, the Spaniſh miniſter, of a character ſimilar to that of Gortz, entered into his views. The czar, to whom all his conqueſts were to be abandoned, likewiſe joined in it; and, having relaxed the vigour of the war, made a journey into France.

Alberoni enters into his views.

1717.

Two miniſters of Swedenarreſted.

Count Gyllenburg, the Swediſh miniſter at the court of London, entered into a conſpiracy in favour of the pretender, and Gortz was at the ſame time in Holland provided with full powers from his maſter; but their plot was diſcovered by

by intercepted letters. The two miniſters were not only ſeized, but interrogated; and their confinement, which laſted ſix months, irritated the reſentment of Charles. As ſoon as Gortz was ſet at liberty, he haſtened to the czar, whoſe ambition he flattered with the hope of an eſtabliſhment in Germany; by which, having become a member of the empire, he might one day aim at the imperial crown. Peter, at laſt, fixed upon the iſle of Aland for holding a conference.

Copper money for ſilver.

At his return into Sweden, the miniſter, in the preſſing neceſſities of the ſtate, then deſtitute of money, gave to copper coin the value of ſilver; ſo that a piece of copper of the value of a half penny, when ſtamped in the mint, became current for forty pence. This money, which he was obliged to increaſe beyond all bounds, becauſe diſtruſts had prodigiouſly increaſed the price of every thing, was very ſoon univerſally decried, and excited the hatred of the publick againſt him. The clergy, from whom he exacted a tax, loudly accuſed him of atheiſm, and every one either curſed or dreaded him. Charles, perhaps from obſtinacy, only gave himſelf up the more to his counſels, leaving the cares of government in his hands, and truſting the negotiations with Ruſſia entirely to his management.

Gortez deteſted in Sweden.

1718. Death of Charles XII.

Theſe negotiations were drawing to a concluſion, when a fatal event broke all their meaſures. The king of Sweden had repaſſed into Norway, of which he was deſirous to make a conqueſt, that he might humble Frederick IV.

king

king of Denmark, who had enriched himſelf with his ſpoils. He laid ſiege to Frederickſhald in the month of December, ſetting at defiance the cold, which even his ſoldiers could ſcarcely endure, and was killed with a ball from a culverin at the age of thirty ſix.

Judgment of M. de Voltaire on that hero.

His French hiſtorian ſays, with much reaſon, "He carried all the virtues of a hero to that "exceſs which is as dangerous as the oppoſite "vices. His ſteadineſs, changing into obſti-"nacy, was the cauſe of his misfortune in the "Ukraine, and kept him five years in Turky; "his liberality, degenerating into profuſion, "ruined Sweden; his courage, carried to raſh-"neſs, occaſioned his death; his juſtice has "ſometimes been cruel; and, towards the cloſe "of his life, the ſupporting of his authority "approached to tyranny. His great qualities, "one of which might have immortalized an-"other prince, were the ruin of his country. . . . "Rigid to others, as well as to himſelf; not "regarding the eaſe or the lives of his ſubjects, "more than his own; an uncommon, rather "than a great man; he was more an object "for admiration, than to be imitated. His "life ought to teach kings, how much a happy "pacifick government is ſuperiour to ſo great "glory." Charles XII. according to the ſame author, deſerved to be the chief officer under Peter the Great.

The crown becomes again elective.

Sweden undoubtedly gained by the death of that hero, who had ſacrificed her to his chimerical ideas of glory. She recovered her invaluable liberty, and eſtabliſhed a new form of government,

government, which ſhe thought proper to confirm without foreſeeing the abuſes. This important revolution deſerves a particular attention. The king dying without children, and his two ſiſters having been married, the one to the duke of Holſtein, whoſe dominions were in the poſſeſſion of the king of Denmark; the other to the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, the crown became again elective, according to a law made in the year 1604, and renewed at ſeveral diets, which bears, *that the daughter of a king or a prince, who is looked upon as capable of ſucceeding to the crown, ought to be in celibacy, and not to marry without the conſent and approbation of the ſtates of the kingdom.* Here then was the time to provide for the publick weal.

Arbitrary power abolished.

They were ſenſible of the miſeries that had been produced by the exceſſive power given to Charles XI. eſpecially under his ſon, who, however, was loved and reſpected by the nation as a great man; but they would not again expoſe themſelves to the deſpotiſm of another prince. They ſaid—"What would a vicious monarch "have done, if Charles XII. made us wretch-"ed?" His ſiſter Ulrica Eleanora, the wife of the landgrave, having been raiſed to the throne by the diet in the beginning of the year 1719, yielded to the deſire, or rather the will, of the Swedes. They thanked her for *the juſt and reaſonable diſlike ſhe teſtified for arbitrary and abſolute power*; they were determined to aboliſh that power, and they ſettled a plan of government.

Conſent of the queen Ulrica Eleanora.

The

The following was the form preſcribed by the laws then made, or in part renewed, and to which the landgrave, become king (Frederick I.) by the recommendation of his wife, was obliged to ſubmit. The legiſlative authority reſts in the diet; the executive power is properly in the ſenate, compoſed of ſixteen perſons, where the king preſides, and has only the caſting vote in certain caſes. It is the diet which names to vacancies in the ſenate, by preſenting three ſubjects for the king to chooſe one. As to the principal employments, both civil and military, they were named by the ſenate from the king's recommendation. The diet to be held every three years in the month of January. If they were not aſſembled at the uſual time, every thing done in the interval to be null. They could not declare war without the king's conſent. When aſſembled, it can neither conclude peace, truce, nor alliance, without his conſent. All laws and ordinances to be publiſhed in the name of the king; but if he abſents himſelf, or delays his ſignature too long, that of the ſenate may ſupply the want of his. On aſcending the throne, he takes the oath before the diet, and is declared an enemy of the ſtate, and deprived of the throne, in caſe he violate the *engagements* into which they make him enter. Beſide the deputies of the clergy, the nobles, and the burgeſſes in the national aſſembly, the peaſants likewiſe have theirs; the commons chooſe one of that order from every diſtrict, and the deputy muſt not have belonged to any other order. A Swediſh peaſant is truly a

Form of the Swediſh government.

Senate.

Diet.

Signature for the king.

Oath and engagements.

Peaſants.

member of the ſtate; he cannot be deſpiſed, and it would be dangerous to oppreſs him; he knows and enjoys his rights.

Laws concerning the education of princes;

Some remarkable laws have ſprung from this conſtitution; they impreſs the minds of princes with thoſe ſentiments which are moſt neceſſary to be inculcated on them; they ſhew them that they are only men, *equally weak with the reſt of the ſpecies*. They watch over their education, and render the effects durable. According to them, the princes *ought frequently to enter into the cottages of the peaſants, that they may ſee the ſituation of the poor with their own eyes; their dreſs ſhould be modeſt, and their table frugal, that they may ſet an example of economy to their ſubjects; which is very uſeful in a country that is poor, but free.* They condemn pomp and parade as an abuſe, by means of which *the ſubjects contract a ſervile habit, and become accuſtomed to the yoke.* They poſitively proſcribe luxury as a mortal poiſon in a ſtate deſtitute of riches, where liberty is the foundation of the publick happineſs. In a word, they ſeem to have cured that warlike people of the fatal paſſion for making conqueſts, but their inteſtine quarrels have injured this advantage.

againſt pomp and parade;

and againſt luxury.

Advantages of Sweden.

Sweden, with an hereditary king, ſeemed to have guarded againſt the diſorders produced by the election of ſovereigns, the ſcourges that accompany deſpotiſm, and the inconveniences which ſpring from a minority, or the incapacity and vices of a monarch. The equipoiſe of the different powers ſeemed to promiſe a moſt happy government; but that the effect might keep

pace

pace with appearances, it was neceſſary that the Swedes ſhould be exempt from corruption; that private intereſt ſhould not prevail over the publick weal, nor the ſpirit of party ſtifle the voice of patriotiſm; that the ſenate, though ſo powerful, be ſufficiently moderate not to abuſe its authority; and that the royal prerogative, which is ſo limited, ſhould have at leaſt ſufficient influence to reſtrain faction, and to form a centre of union between the different powers of the ſtate. But is it poſſible to hope for ſo much virtue and prudence in our days?*

* The revolution which lately happened in Sweden, which was effected by a young king, without any effuſion of blood, and with the applauſe of all the different orders, plainly proves, that the people were diſſatisfied with their government. The voice of the nation ſeems not only to have confirmed the cenſures of the ſovereign, but the hopes which he has given of a happier fate. The following are the moſt memorable paſſages of his addreſs to the ſtates, the 21ſt Auguſt, 1772:—"It is in this manner that "liberty, the moſt valuable right of the human race, has "been changed into an ariſtocratical deſpotiſm, in the "hand of a prevailing party, who were very ſoon over-"turned by their opponents, and they, in their turn, "were ſubdued by a few individuals. They trembled at "the approach of a diet. . . . . My ſole purpoſe "is to reeſtabliſh true liberty, which is the only means, "my dear ſubjects, to make you truly happy. . . . . "To attain ſo deſirable an object, the kingdom muſt be "governed by an invariable law, whoſe clear and preciſe "letter leaves no room for falſe interpretations; which "not only binds the king, but likewiſe the ſtates; which "can neither be abrogated nor changed, without the free "conſent both of the king and the ſtates; which gives "leave to a king, anxious for the good of his kingdom, "to conſult with the ſtates, without their making it a reaſon "for being alarmed or afraid; which, in a word, unites the "king and the ſtates in the ſame intereſt, the univerſal "good of their country, &c."

When the new government was eſtabliſhed, the ſyſtem of the baron de Gortz fell in pieces, and that miniſter paid with his head for the bad counſels he had given Charles XII. They were very ſenſible of the neceſſity of having a peace, and it was concluded by different treaties; firſt, with the king of England, as elector of Hanover, to whom they ceded the dutchies of Bremen and Verden for a million of rixdollars; then with the king of Pruſſia, Frederick William, who reſtored Stralſund and the iſle of Rugen, and kept Stetin and the iſlands of Uſedom and Wollin; and laſtly, the ſame year, 1720, with the king of Denmark, who kept that part of the dutchy of Sleſwick which was conquered from the duke of Holſtein, and gave up Wiſmar, upon condition that the fortifications ſhould not be rebuilt.

The czar impoſes terms, and keeps his conqueſts.

The war with Ruſſia was continued, and George I. ſent an Engliſh ſquadron, as he had promiſed, to the aſſiſtance of Sweden; but this ſquadron did not act, or did nothing of conſequence. The Ruſſians, on the contrary, took ſome Swediſh frigates, and in a deſcent burnt forty villages. A new negotiation was opened at Nyſtad in Finland, where the czar dictated the conditions of the peace, which was concluded in 1721, when he kept the provinces which he had conquered, viz. Livonia, Eſtonia, Ingria, Karelia, and a part of Finland. His ſubjects then decreed to him the title of *emperour*; a title which has been acknowledged by the powers of Europe, but was very unneceſſary to his glory.

His title of emperour.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

DEATH *of* PETER *the* GREAT.—*His Eſtabliſhments and Laws.*—*State of* RUSSIA *to the Reign of* CATHARINE II.

War of the czar with Perſia.

THAT conqueror and legiſlator, whoſe travels, enterpriſes, and ſucceſs, ſurpaſs thoſe of Charlemagne, put an end to his career by an expedition into Perſia. The ſophi Huſſein was attacked by rebels, who ſurpriſed the town of Shamachie, near the Caſpian, where the Ruſſians carried on a conſiderable trade. All the inhabitants were plundered and maſſacred, and Peter not being able to procure ſatisfaction, carried the war into that country; not to aggrandize himſelf without deriving ſome real advantage, but to ſecure the empire of the Caſpian, and to bring the commerce of Perſia, and a part of India, into Ruſſia. In 1722, he croſſed mount Caucaſus, took Darbent, and returned in triumph to Moſcow. The following year the new ſophi, on purpoſe to ſecure his protection againſt the uſurper Mahmoud, the murderer of Huſſein, ceded to him three provinces, which formed a great part of the ancient kingdom of the Medes. Theſe provinces have been abandoned ſince that time: An empire already too much extended, muſt certainly ſuffer by being more enlarged.

The means by which his ſon Alexis made himſelf deteſted.

To complete Peter's happineſs, an heir was wanting to whom he might leave the crown. Alexis

Alexis Petrowitz, whom he had by his firſt wife, died in a moſt tragical manner in the year 1718. We ſhall in this place take notice of ſome particulars which attended the cataſtrophe of that unfortunate prince, whoſe trial made ſo much noiſe. His mother bred him up in a blind ſuperſtition, which made him deteſt the innovations of his father; and ſome prieſts who were equally ſuperſtitious, abuſed his confidence, in order to keep up his prejudices; to which were added the groſſeſt debaucheries. He very ſoon occaſioned the death of his wife, the princeſs of Brunſwick, ſiſter in law of the emperour Charles VI. who died of vexation. In one word, he ſeemed to be born to deſtroy all the great works of his father.

Reprimands and advice of his father.

The reprimands and threatenings of Peter were all to no purpoſe. In a letter to him he ſaid—*Do not depend upon the title of being my only ſon; for if I do not ſpare my own life for the good of my country and the ſafety of my people, how can I ſpare you? I would rather tranſmit my dominions to a deſerving ſtranger, than to a ſon who renders himſelf unworthy.* In another letter, he ſaid—*Correct your faults, and render yourſelf worthy of the ſucceſſion, or turn monk.* The ſon replied, that he would turn monk. The czar gave him ſix months to conſider, and ſet out with an intention of viſiting France, where he ſtill hoped to procure inſtruction.

Flight of Alexis.

On his arrival at Copenhagen, he was informed, that his ſon ſaw none but malecontents; he therefore ordered him to come and join him. Alexis pretended to obey, but fled for ſhelter

to

to the court of Vienna in 1717; however, threatening commands, accompanied with promiſes of pardon, determined him to return to Ruſſia. He arrived at Moſcow in 1718, when Peter, who had got thither before him, cauſed him to be arreſted, and ſolemnly diſinherited, when a child lately born of Catharine was declared his ſucceſſor. Not ſatisfied with this act of ſeverity, he inſiſted upon Alexis being juridically examined, and commanded him, upon pain of death, to conceal nothing. He was even interrogated upon his thoughts and ſecret wiſhes; his confeſſor, whom he charged with not having diſapproved of his wiſhing the death of his father, was put to the torture. Such proceedings foreboded dreadful reſolutions.

His trial in 1718.

The laſt confeſſion, which was ſigned by the young prince, bears, "that he was a bigot from "his earlieſt years; that he had frequented the "ſociety of prieſts and monks, drank with "them, and received from them ſuch impreſ-"ſions, as made him deteſt his duty, and even "the perſon of his father; that he wanted to "ſucceed to the throne, *in any manner except that* "*which he ought.*"

His confeſſion.

In the mean time eight biſhops, and ſome others of the clergy, who were conſulted on this buſineſs by the czar, declared by a writing under their hands, "that the abſolute power eſtab-"liſhed in the empire of Ruſſia, is not control-"able by ſubjects, but the whole authority is "in the ſovereign."

Deciſion on the abſolute power of the czar.

After all, a hundred and forty four judges, having likewiſe acknowledged that the deciſion of

Condemnation of the young prince.

of an affair of this nature depended ſolely upon the will of the ſovereign, unanimouſly condemned the young prince to ſuffer death. An Engliſh writer ſays, that in the Engliſh parliament, out of a hundred and forty four judges, not one would have pronounced the leaſt puniſhment in ſuch a caſe. This muſt be, becauſe liberty and deſpotiſm ſee with quite different eyes. According to M. de Voltaire, the czar might cauſe his ſon to be put to death for diſobedience, without conſulting any perſon; and the czarowitz had offended the whole nation, by wanting to plunge them again into that ſtate of darkneſs from whence they had been freed by his father. Does not that very trial prove that they were ſtill in darkneſs?

His violent death.

Alexis, at reading his ſentence, fell into convulſions, and died next day, after having begged pardon of the czar, who granted it by a publick declaration. The injurious reports which were ſpread, eſpecially againſt the czarina, on the ſubject of the death of Alexis, are refuted by the famous writer from whom we have taken the particulars of this hiſtory. Peter and Catharine, the next year, 1719, loſt that child, for whom the throne was deſtined.

The czarina in danger, from Peter's paſſionate temper.

It appears evident, that the czar intended that he ſhould be ſucceeded by his wife, whom he cauſed to be crowned and conſecrated in the year 1724; a ceremony unknown among the Ruſſians, and calculated to make the ſame impreſſion upon the minds of that people, as it had formerly done among us. Catharine, however, could not procure a pardon for one of her ladies of the wardrobe, her favourite, who had been

been convicted of having received preſents, which was ſtrictly prohibited to all perſons in office. The czar, provoked by her intreaties, carried his paſſion ſo far, as to break a Venetian looking glaſs.—*You ſee*, ſaid he, *that it needed but a ſtroke of my hand to reduce that glaſs to the duſt from whence it was taken.* Catharine pacified him by the mildneſs of her reply—*Well, then, you have broken that which was the greateſt ornament of your palace; do you imagine it is the handſomer for what you have done?* But all the favour ſhe could obtain for the lady was, that, inſtead of eleven, ſhe ſhould receive only five ſtrokes of the knout. (The knout is a kind of ſcourging, atrociouſly cruel.) The knout.

Peter died in 1724, at the age of fifty three, without having named an heir. The crown might have deſcended to his daughter, Anne Petrowna, who was married to the duke of Holſtein whom he intended to reſtore, or to his grandſon Peter, the ſon of the unfortunate Alexis; of whoſe death we have already given an account, and of his being previouſly diſinherited. Prince Mentzikow, who was always a friend of the empreſs, prevented the oppoſite parties, by ſecuring the treaſures and the guards, and gaining ſome of the biſhops. He ſpeedily aſſembled the ſenators and general officers; and a prelate having declared, that, the evening before Catharine's coronation, the czar had ſignified his intention that ſhe ſhould ſucceed to the crown, ſhe was that ſame day proclaimed, and proved the happineſs of the empire. Death of the czar. He is ſucceeded by Catharine.

Let

Eſtabliſhments of Peter the Great.

Let us return to the eſtabliſhments made by Peter the Great, for our age furniſhes few objects ſo worthy of a rational curioſity. It was in 1718, at his return from France, where he had acquired ſome new ideas, that he principally laboured to complete the reformation. A court of police, which was eſtabliſhed at Peterſburg, extended its cares over the provinces; the towns were cleared of thoſe idle mendicants, who are a troubleſome and pernicious nuiſance; care was taken to provide for the education of youth and the ſupport of orphans; whatever was neceſſary to preſerve cleanlineſs, to maintain good order, and contribute to the publick good, was collected in Peterſburg and Moſcow; trades and manufactures became flouriſhing; an uniformity of weights and meaſures facilitated commerce; a canal of communication, between the Caſpian Sea and the Baltick, by the river Wolga, was dug with equal ſkill and ſucceſs. Some treaties of commerce were entered into, even with China. Two hundred foreign veſſels were already reckoned to come yearly to trade at Peterſburg, which, though an inacceſſible moraſs in 1702, at preſent contains four hundred thouſand inhabitants.

Police, commerce, &c.

Laws; juſtice; the ſenate.

A prince ſo attentive to the true intereſts of government could not fail to employ his cares in legiſlation; and he publiſhed a code, taken, in part, from the laws of Sweden. He aboliſhed a court of the boyards, which judged without appeal, though its members had not the knowledge neceſſary for ſuch an office. He conſtituted

conſtituted a ſenate, and eſtabliſhed regulations, that juſtice might be adminiſtered ſpeedily, and at little expenſe. He forbid all the judges, under pain of death, to depart from the law, and ſubſtitute their own opinions in its ſtead. He commanded any boyard, declared ignominious by the judges, to loſe his rank of nobility, and that every private ſoldier ſhould acquire the rank of a gentleman, if made an officer. Undoubtedly his laws could not be perfect; but they ought to be regarded as the ſource of better, which will follow.

Eccleſiaſtical reformation.

In a ſavage country, filled with ſuperſtition, a reformation of the church was equally difficult and important. The prejudices of the clergy and monks, their cabals, their influence over the minds of the people, preſented the greateſt obſtructions to the changes which the czar thought neceſſary. He had ſuppreſſed the patriarchal dignity, that he might deprive that body of a too powerful chief, who made themſelves dangerous to the ſtate, from the wrong notions entertained of religion. An archbiſhop of Novogorod, who had been improved by travelling, was very uſeful in ſeconding the deſigns of the czar. A perpetual ſynod, conſiſting of twelve members, nominated by the emperour, was inſtituted; a kind of tribunal, to which the juriſdiction of the patriarch was allotted. Peter frequently preſided there, and always guided their deciſions.

Perpetual ſynod.

Regulations for monks and nuns.

As the monaſtick life, in the Greek church, is a neceſſary ſtep to the epiſcopate, the prohibition to become monk, before the age of fifty,

was

was limited, and leave was given to enter the monaſtery at thirty; but ſoldiers, labourers, and all who were in the ſervice of the publick, were prohibited from embracing that ſtate without expreſs permiſſion. Bodily labour was commanded to the monks; and they were likewiſe charged with the care of invalid ſoldiers, and the really poor, who were diſtributed in convents. The nuns were likewiſe commanded to employ themſelves in uſeful works. Till the age of fifty, when they received the tonſure, they might, and were even exhorted to marry.

Motives for the monaſtick reformation.

The motives alleged by the czar, in his decree for the reformation of the monks, are remarkable. He goes back to the inſtitution of their order, and takes notice of the abuſes which had crept in, from the relaxation of diſcipline. "The monks, adds he, are become the ſcan-
"dal and contempt of other religions, and the
"diſgrace of ours. They are even dangerous
"to the ſtate, ſince the greateſt part of them
"are uſeleſs idlers, drawn into the cloiſters by
"their averſion from induſtry, and, as is but
"too well known, create ſuperſtitions, ſchiſms,
"and even diſturbances..... While in their
"villages, they had the threefold duty, to
"contribute to the ſupport of their family, to
"ſerve the ſtate, and the Lord. They no
"ſooner become monks, than they forget what
"it is to want; their proviſion is always ready,
"and if, by chance, they labour in the mo-
"naſtick ſtate, it is only for themſelves: But,
"ſay they, we pray; and does not all the
"world

" world pray? Saint Basil has destroyed this " weak pretence. What advantage, then, does " society derive from monasteries? They can- " not reply, but by an old proverb: *None,* " *neither for God nor men,* &c." (This piece may be seen at full length in the *Voyage de Siberie.*)

The monks prohibited the use of pen, ink, and paper.

How greatly must such sentiments displease vicious monks? Their libels against the czar had already determined him, in 1703, to prohibit them the use of pen, ink, and paper. The archmandrite, or abbot, was responsible for those to whom he allowed the use of them. This regulation continued in force.

A sect in Russia persecuted.

Peter was far from dispelling the ignorance, and purifying the gross manners, of the Russian clergy; but he boasted of having forced them to live in peace and obedience, while Louis XIV. said he, allowed himself to be governed by the clergy of France. He stopped the persecution aimed against the sect of Razholniki; the only sect known in Russia, whose heresy consisted in saying *hallelujah* only twice, and making the sign of the cross only with three fingers. The sectaries lived peaceably among themselves, without having any commerce with the others; but, being persecuted, they carried their fanaticism to such a length, as to set fire to the house in which they were assembled, esteeming it their happiness to perish in the flames, for the love of Jesus Christ. We are assured, that not one of these fanaticks would change his opinion, and that a hundred thousand families fled for refuge among the Tartars,

to

to eſcape the tyranny of their perſecutors. The ſeverities were renewed after the death of Peter.

Deſpotiſm contrary to the happineſs of Ruſſia.

The hiſtory of Ruſſia, by M. de Voltaire, would make us conclude, at firſt ſight, that this nation is infinitely more happy, at preſent, than it was before the reign of the czar: But does the fact correſpond with theſe appearances? Peterſburg and Moſcow undoubtedly preſent a very extraordinary contraſt with the ancient manners: There the fruits of commerce, arts, and learning may be ſeen; there the women, enjoying a greater ſhare of conſideration than is paid them in the reſt of the empire, inſpire the men with more gentle and refined manners, and give to ſociety the charms of politeneſs. However, if we may depend upon the abbé Chappe, of the academy of ſciences, author of the *Voyage de Siberie*, in 1761, every thing is cruſhed under the iron ſceptre of deſpotiſm. In the hand of the czar, it was a neceſſary inſtrument for the execution of his deſigns; but it was likewiſe an invincible obſtacle to the progreſs of the reformation, becauſe ſlavery always degrades a people below the dignity of human nature.

The nobility crouching ſlaves.

On the one hand, the nobility crouch and groan under an oppreſſive yoke. They may be ſtript by the caprice of the ſovereign, who can ſubject them to the moſt ignominious puniſhments, and the baniſhment to Siberia; a puniſhment ſo common among them, would be to us worſe than death. From thence ſuch a ſpirit of fear and diſtruſt ariſes, that if you aſk the Ruſſians, ſays the abbé Chappe, any queſtions,

ions, even the moſt indifferent to government, they anſwer—*God and the empreſs know*. (Tom. i. 237.)

The people ſlaves, and ſunk to brutality.

On the other hand, the people who are ſlaves to the nobility, being as much their property as their cattle, and, in fact, treated like the vileſt animals, languiſh in abject indolence and dreadful miſery: Almoſt without faith, and without manners, they drag the chains of ſuperſtition. Provided they reſpect the images, and rigorouſly obſerve Lent, they yield to every vice without any ſenſe of remorſe. If they preſerve their long beards and mantles, notwithſtanding the commands of the deſpot, it is evident that, in other reſpects, they are not much changed.

Uncommon baths.

The ſtifling baths which they take twice a week to promote perſpiration, followed by ſevere flagellations, after which they roll in the ſnow, are indiſpenſable remedies for the humours occaſioned by ſedentary lives in ſmoaky cottages: But the venereal diſeaſe, for which they ſeek no cure, debaucheries of every kind, and particularly that of ſtrong liquors, deſtroy thoſe iron conſtitutions, and increaſe the depopulation of that vaſt empire.

Cauſes of depopulation.

Genius very limited in that empire.

It is obſerved, in general, that the Ruſſians give no proofs of genius; none of them have become famous in ſcience; they are only imitators in the arts; they owe almoſt every thing to foreigners: However, if the government gave free ſcope to men's minds; if knowledge did not expoſe to danger thoſe people who were anxious to cultivate it; if education was better

and

and more eaſily obtained ; or if a ſentiment of liberty excited a noble ambition ; then, perhaps, ſome wonderful changes would be ſeen. The reigning empreſs (Catharine II.) labours to bring to perfection the work of Peter, which he had but roughly ſketched in ſeveral eſſential points. That great man is not leſs entitled to glory, not only for having attempted what an inferiour genius would have ſuppoſed impoſſible, but for having frequently ſucceeded, and paved the way for the ſucceſs of other princes, who may ſhow themſelves worthy of taking his place.

Forces of Ruſſia.

Ruſſia has ſuch weight, at preſent, in the affairs of Europe, and acts ſuch a diſtinguiſhed part, that it is of importance to have ſome idea of her ſtrength and reſources. According to the abbé Chappe, whoſe enquiries on that ſubject generally confirm the teſtimony of M. de Voltaire, the revenues of the ſtate are thirteen millions four hundred thouſand roubles, (about 3,015,000l. Engliſh.) In 1756 the fleet was reduced to twenty two ſhips of the line, ſix frigates, and ninety nine galleys. The military eſtabliſhment amounts to three hundred and thirty thouſand men, and coſts no more than about ſix millions four hundred thouſand roubles in time of peace :* The reaſon is, that the provinces to which they are ſent, furniſh every neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, and that the pay in money is very ſmall. A great part of theſe troops, which are called the army of *the government*,

Finances.

Fleet.

* A rouble is four ſhillings and ſix pence Engliſh.

ernment, being deſtined to guard the frontiers, the army of the country is only about ſixty thouſand effective men, who are perfectly diſciplined: But the Ruſſians have an exceſſive averſion from a military life. They are repreſented by the abbé Chappe (can it be believed?) as deficient in courage, and little to be dreaded, except when defending themſelves where there is no opening for flight; and then, it is ſaid, they muſt be killed to gain the field of battle from them. The population, which M. de Voltaire eſtimates at twenty four millions, that traveller reduces to leſs than nineteen, and alleges, that, ſo far from increaſing, it diminiſhes every day. Their commerce, by land, is of little importance, but by ſea it is advantageous; becauſe their exports greatly exceed their imports. The Ruſſians ſhould carry it on themſelves, and without reſtraint.

The Ruſſians accuſed of cowardice.

Population.

Commerce.

The abbé Chappe concludes that the power of Ruſſia ſhould be calculated, not from the extent of its dominions, but in the inverſe ratio of that ſame extent; that ſhe cannot ſend an army out of the empire, without even victories proving fatal to her; ſhe ought to tranſport the inhabitants of the north of Siberia into the deſerts of the ſouthern part; from which, the ſole inconvenience to be apprehended is, that the Tartars will learn the art of war from them. I own, that a part of theſe ideas appears to me quite diſcordant with the ſucceſs of the war againſt the Turks. What efforts continually ſupported! What victories! What reſources! Let us not be too haſty in our judgment; the

Eſtimate of the power of Ruſſia.

consequences of a glorious war are sometimes deplorable.

Revolutions in that court.

It is something very extraordinary, that three women should have succeeded to the throne of Peter the Great, and that it has acquired additional lustre, notwithstanding the revolutions in the palace. Catharine I. died in 1727.

Peter II.

Peter II. the son of the unfortunate Alexis, reigned till 1730.

Anne.

Anne, dutchess dowager of Courland, daughter of the eldest brother of Peter I. succeeded to him by a court intrigue; and her favourite Byron governed like a tyrant.

Iwan III.

After the death of Anne in 1740, Iwan (John III.) son of her niece the princess of Brunswick, was acknowledged: The mother of the young emperour seized the regency; but Lestoc, a foreign surgeon, formed a conspiracy in favour of Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter the Great, and succeeded.

Elizabeth.

Iwan and the regent were imprisoned for life in 1741. It is well known that Elizabeth signalized her clemency, by promising that no capital punishment should be inflicted during her reign, and substituting publick labours, which might usefully supply the place of that punishment, which has rarely been productive of good effects. Great licentiousness prevailed in the empire; but that reign has been signalized by conquests gained over the king of Prussia, during the war of 1756.

Peter III.

Elizabeth died in 1762; and young Peter, duke of Holstein, her nephew, who had been declared grand duke of Russia, quietly succeeded. Though he at first gained the hearts of

of the nobility, by an excellent ordinance which gave them their liberty, his conduct very ſoon rendered him contemptible and odious. The clergy, whoſe revenues he wanted to add to the crown, chiefly hated him as an enemy of the church; and a ſudden revolution placed upon the throne his wife, the princeſs of Anhalt Zerbſt, from whom he had been ſome time ſeparated. This is Catharine II. whoſe knowledge and abilities carry the glory of Ruſſia to the greateſt height. If the code which ſhe has announced is well executed, ſhe may be claſſed with the firſt legiſlators.

Catharine II.

Till the preſent time, the revolutions of that court have reſembled thoſe of the ſeraglio of Conſtantinople; and the reaſon is plain. The more the ſovereign is deſpotick, the more muſt intrigue and violence prevail in the palace. Almoſt all thoſe who have acted conſpicuous parts in Ruſſia, ſuch as Mentzikow, Byron, Munich, Oſterman, Leſtoc, &c. have, in their turns, been precipitated from the ſummit of fortune into the greateſt miſery.

Idea of that court till the preſent reign.

FIFTEENTH EPOCHA.

GENERAL AFFAIRS *of* EUROPE.

[From the Death of Louis XIV. to the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle in 1748.]

CHAP. I.

WAR *of the Emperour with the* TURKS.—*Enterprises of Cardinal* ALBERONI.—*Regency of the Duke of* ORLEANS.

IF the Turks had been leſs diſcouraged by the late victories of the imperialiſts, or their politicks been more clear ſighted, they would have taken the opportunity offered by the war in the north, and likewiſe that of the ſouth of Europe, which were kindled at the beginning of the century, to repair all their loſſes. They continued in peace while the emperour Charles VI. exhauſted his ſtrength againſt France: They did not attack the Ruſſians till after the defeat of Charles XII. at Pultawa, and made peace with the czar at the very inſtant when it ſeemed in their power to have cruſhed him. They waited the peace of Utrecht and of Raſtadt

The Turks did not prof it by the wars with which Europe was diſtracted.

They take the Morea.

Raſtadt before they took the Morea from the Venetians, to whom it had been guaranteed by the peace of Carlowitz.

Campaigns of prince Eugene againſt them.

The emperour, either from being guarantee of the peace of Carlowitz, or becauſe he was naturally the enemy of the Turks, then took up arms, and prevailed. Prince Eugene having paſſed the Danube, defeated the grand vizir of Achmet III. at Peterwaradin in 1716, when the vizir died of his wounds. Temeſwaer, the only place of Hungary in the poſſeſſion of the Ottoman power, was taken; and prince Eugene, the next year, after having been beſieged in his camp, and eſcaping the moſt imminent danger by gaining a ſecond victory, made himſelf maſter of Belgrade. In 1718 he concluded the peace of Paſſarowitz in perſon, by which the *bannat* of Temeſwaer, Belgrade, and the kingdom of Servia, were added to the Auſtrian power; but the Morea was not reſtored to the Venetians.

Peace of Paſſarowitz.

Projects of cardinal Alberoni.

Cardinal Alberoni, the prime miniſter of Spain, had already ſchemed his audacious enterpriſes; a man of ſufficient abilities to reſtore order in the adminiſtration, the finances, the army, and in ſome degree to give new life to the ſtate; but, inſtead of confining his application to things ſo truly uſeful, he wanted to overturn Europe, and ruined himſelf. To dethrone the king of England in favour of the pretender, ſon of James II. to wreſt from the emperour what he had gained in Italy by the peace of Utrecht; to transfer to Philip V. the regency of France, which Philip duke of Orleans

leans enjoyed without limitation, the parliament of Paris having annulled the will of Louis XIV. by which it was limited, were the deſigns of Alberoni; and, if they had ſucceeded, would have procured for him the reputation of a Ximenes or a Richelieu. We formerly mentioned his fruitleſs negotiation with the baron de Gortz, the king of Sweden's miniſter; and the diſcovery of his plot againſt George I. king of England, ſecured the poſſeſſion of that crown. Let us take a curſory view of the other events.

His addreſs in obtaining the cardinal's hat.

It will not be unneceſſary to obſerve, how much the perſonal ambition of a miniſter influences the affairs of ſtate. To procure the hat of cardinal, Alberoni carefully concealed his ſchemes upon Italy, and even ſent fleets againſt the Turks, who had threatened it before the peace of Paſſarowitz; he reſtored to the pope's nuncio the papers of the nunciature, which were kept locked up. Clement XI. who became dupe to his artifices, had no ſooner inveſted him with the purple, than the Spaniards made a conqueſt of Sardinia in 1717, and prepared to ſeize Sicily.

Quadruple alliance againſt Spain.

The intereſt of the duke of Orleans did not agree with the views of the Spaniſh miniſter; becauſe the renunciation of Philip V. made him the preſumptive heir of the young king, Louis XV. his pupil. He joined the king of England and Holland to maintain the peace of Utrecht, to which alliance the emperour very ſoon acceded; and the ſyſtem of Alberoni was overturned

Conſpiracy againſt the duke of Orleans.

turned by the quadruple alliance. Conſpiracies were vainly attempted both in France and England. The Spaniſh ambaſſadour, the dutcheſs of Maine, the cardinal de Polignack, and ſeveral others, joined in forming a ſcheme for carrying off the regent; but the papers were artfully ſtolen from a young Spaniſh abbé, who was ſecretary to the embaſſy, by a courteſan, which was the means of the plot being diſcovered. The prince de Cellamare the ambaſſadour, and his ſecretary, were ſeized. A declaration of war was the conſequence of their intrigues; and France armed againſt the grandſon of Louis XIV. whom ſhe had eſtabliſhed on the throne of Charles V. at the expenſe of her own ruin.

Short war.

Happily the war was not of long continuance. Before it was declared, the Spaniards, already in poſſeſſion of a great part of Sicily, had been defeated in a ſea engagement, by the Engliſh admiral Byng, who in 1718 took from them twenty three ſhips. The year after they were defeated by the imperialiſts in that ſame iſland, and the fleet with which they propoſed to invade England was diſperſed by a ſtorm; the Engliſh carried deſtruction into the port of Vigo; and the French, under the mareſchal de Berwick, whoſe ſon was in the ſervice of Spain, took ſome towns, burnt ſome magazines, and ſixteen ſhips of war which were newly conſtructed: Upon which Philip V. who was naturally weak, ſacrificed Alberoni, diſmiſſed him, and only thought of extricating himſelf out of his difficulties.

Alberoni ſacrificed.

A

1720. Peace between France and Spain.

A negotiation for a peace was opened, and Philip acceded to the quadruple alliance. Sicily and Sardinia were evacuated, the duke of Savoy ceding the firſt to the emperour in exchange for the ſecond; and thus a war, which had continued two years, was brought to an end.

Remarkable diſputes in Sicily with the pope.

Could it be believed, that, ſince 1711, there had been dreadful diſputes with the pope in Sicily, occaſioned by ſome grey peas? Theſe peas belonged to the biſhop of Lipari, and were ſold on his account; and the magiſtrates, not knowing that they belonged to the biſhop, exacted ſome duty which was not paid by eccleſiaſticks. It was in vain that they afterwards attempted to excuſe themſelves, to reſtore the money, and beg pardon; but being excommunicated without mercy, they appealed to the tribunal of the *monarchy*, which, as we formerly obſerved, was eſtabliſhed in the time of the Norman kings, and confirmed by a concordate between Pius V. and Philip II. where they were abſolved proviſionally, according to the ordinary procedure. The biſhop of Lipari having carried the affair to Rome, Clement XI. declared that abſolution null; though the judge was an eccleſiaſtick, exerciſing thoſe powers in the name of the king, with which he was inveſted as legate. Two other biſhops received and publiſhed the pope's decree. Philip V. who reigned at that time in Sicily, wanted to repel an attempt contrary to the rights of his crown; the biſhops reſiſted, and he baniſhed them as rebels.

Upon

Violent proceedings of Clement XI.

Upon this, Clement excommunicated the judge of the *monarchy*, and notwithſtanding the pacifick proceedings of Philip, the quarrel increaſed. It was ordered by a bull, that all decrees iſſued by the Holy See ſhould be executed without the permiſſion of the monarch, (the *exequatur regium*) that is, againſt the laws of the kingdom. All the other privileges were aboliſhed, and even the inconteſtible rights of civil ſociety. To this was only oppoſed an appeal to the pope when better informed, and a prohibition to execute this bull and the other ſimilar decrees. When the king of Sardinia took poſſeſſion of Sicily, after the treaty of Utrecht, the diſputes continued. How could the court of Rome flatter herſelf in our days, I do not ſay to enforce her ancient pretenſions, but to wreſt from crowned heads thoſe very rights ſhe had formerly acknowledged to belong to them? It was evidently neceſſary to abandon ſuch an imprudent deſign; it was happy that it did no greater injury to the pontificate.

It muſt be owned, that both the people and governments were ſtill, in many reſpects, involved in darkneſs favourable for ſuch attempts.

Auto da fe. Two *auto da fes* at Madrid, where ſeventeen wretched victims of errour were devoutly delivered up to the flames, are convincing proofs. The diſturbances occaſioned by the bull *unigenitus* afford equal matter of conviction.

Eccleſiaſtical affairs in France.

The duke of Orleans gave himſelf very little trouble about theological matters, and conſidered only as a ſtateſman what Louis XIV. ſaw

ſaw with the eyes of his confeſſor; and at firſt obſerved a quite oppoſite conduct. Le Tellier, in return for his perſecutions, was baniſhed. The pious cardinal de Noailles, archbiſhop of Paris, who had formerly been the object of that Jeſuit's hatred, was made preſident of a new council of conſcience. The bull, which had been made a law of the kingdom, was ſuddenly expoſed to the moſt violent attacks. A crowd of biſhops, even of thoſe who had received it, required the pope to give ſuch an explanation himſelf as might diſpel the general diſquiet. Four prelates, and afterwards the cardinal de Noailles, the Sorbonne, the univerſity, the pariſh prieſts of Paris, and numberleſs communities, appealed to a future council, which is probably at a great diſtance. France reſounded with clamours, either for or againſt the bull of Clement XI. and the theologians, exhauſting themſelves in arguments and invectives, rendered the queſtion ſtill more obſcure. The pope added to the flame by condemning the refractory; and the regent, though a man of abilities, did not know which party to eſpouſe.

Oppoſition to the bull *unigenitus*.

But the ſyſtem of the finances, which I ſhall ſoon have occaſion to mention, abſorbed the attention of the publick. The bull was neglected for the hopes of acquiring riches, when new intereſts determined the court to adopt new meaſures.

In the negotiations of peace with Spain, the duke of Orleans demanded that the prince of Aſturias ſhould be married to his daughter, and the

Intrigues of father d'Aubenton in Spain.

the infanta to the young king of France, Louis XV. To accompliſh his purpoſe, he had occaſion for father d'Aubenton, the confeſſor of Philip V. whoſe credit was the greater, as that monarch was a bigot. The Jeſuit did not let ſlip this opportunity of ſerving his ſociety and the pope: He perſuaded his penitent whatever he pleaſed, and the regent obtained every thing he wanted, upon condition of the bull being accepted, and the Jeſuits reſtored to favour: Two objects which could not be ſeparated.

Accommodation of the diſpute concerning the bull.

In fact, an accommodation was drawn up, in which the doctrine was explained in ſuch a manner as to reconcile the two parties as much as poſſible. It was ſigned by ſeveral biſhops, and an attempt was made to procure the regiſtration of an edict, which commanded that the bull ſhould be accepted, and appeals condemned. The parliament which had been baniſhed to Pontoiſe, for the ſyſtem of law, was inflexible in the preſent conjuncture, and an application was made to the great council, which ſhewed the ſame oppoſition. The regent went thither in perſon, followed by the princes, peers, mareſchals of France, &c. in 1720. He cauſed the law to be regiſtered, and it was regiſtered afterwards by the parliament with the uſual modifications. This affair was principally conducted by the celebrated Dubois, archbiſhop of Cambray, though no man ſeemed leſs calculated for governing a ſingle church. The Roman purple, with which he was inveſted, did not conceal the ſtains of his reputation; but he would

The regiſtration.

would have deſerved greatly from his country, if he had ſucceeded ſo as to annihilate or extirpate the ſeeds of contention.

While two parties were tearing one another in pieces about ſome propoſitions of Queſnel, and the bull by which they were condemned, the bull, like the propoſitions, being taken by both in different ſenſes, the whole kingdom was agitated by a more dangerous madneſs. John Law, a fugitive from Scotland, had conceived a ſcheme of paying the enormous debts of the nation in paper. The duke of Orleans, fond of novelties, and impatient to be free from theſe debts, adopted his plan, and a commercial company, by the profits which it was ſuppoſed it would make in America and elſewhere, was to repay the two thouſand millions of debt which Louis XIV. left at his death. The ſucceſs at firſt kept pace with Law's expectations. His company farmed the revenue in 1718, and had ſuch credit that the price of the ſtocks increaſed prodigiouſly: Fortunes were ſuddenly accumulated; a blind inſatiable avarice made people ſtrip themſelves of their money to purchaſe notes, which were multiplied to ſuch a degree, as to amount to more than eighty times the current coin; by which means they were very ſoon cried down, and the proprietors fortunes ruined in an inſtant.

Syſtem of Law.

Great ſucceſs followed by greater misfortunes.

As ſoon as the people began to diſtruſt the ſcheme, the royal bank having been exhauſted by the ſums which were drawn upon it, and no longer able to anſwer the demands of thoſe who wanted to realize their notes, their whole credit vaniſhed;

Ruin of the people's fortunes.

vaniſhed; the money was immediately conceal-ed, and the notes were no better than waſte pa-per; numberleſs families immediately ſunk into indigence. An unjuſt law, by which the people were forbidden to keep above five hundred li-vres in ſpecie in their houſes, ſerved only to provoke the nation ſtill more. The author of all theſe miſchiefs was become a miniſter of the revenues, and inſulted the diſtreſſes of the pub-lick by his riches; the parliament was baniſhed for oppoſing ſuch pernicious meaſures; but that ſame year, 1720, Law was obliged to flee, ſcarcely carrying with him wherewithal to live, and leaving behind him a name to be for ever deteſted.

Liquidation of debts.

The annuitants had been reimburſed in notes, and the ſtate was in no better ſituation. How could it make good its obligations to an infinite number of people, whom theſe royal notes gave a right to claim the property they had loſt? Meſſieurs Paris, four diligent, zealous brothers, directed this prodigious work, which ſeemed almoſt impoſſible to be executed. Five hun-dred and eleven thouſand creditors carried their notes to a tribunal, inſtituted to put an end to the confuſion into which the fortunes of indi-viduals were thrown. They liquidated the debts to the amount of more than ſixteen hun-dred millions in money; by which means the ſtate ſtill had an enormous burden to bear, and individuals were but indifferently recompenſed for their loſſes. The ſame ſcourge, originating from the ſame principle, proved at the ſame time equally ruinous to England and Holland.

Theſe

Theſe fatal ſyſtems produced evils of worſe conſequence than the ruin of thouſands of fortunes. Money became a divinity to which both duty and principles were ſacrificed. Riches, ſuddenly accumulated while credit remained, introduced all the follies of luxury and all the exceſſes of depravity. Morals and religion, by which they are in ſome degree ſupported, received deadly wounds, which time has not been able to heal. If the apologiſts of luxury prove that it is neceſſary in an opulent monarchy (ſome excellent laws undoubtedly would better prove the contrary) they ought at leaſt to allow, that it is like a plague attached to certain climates. The ſage in his aſylum, the boſom of mediocrity, can ſcarcely preſerve himſelf from the peſtiferous breath of others.

Corruptions the effect of theſe ſchemes for raiſing money.

According to M. de Voltaire, the Miſſiſippi ſcheme gave men clearer notions on the theory of trade, in the ſame manner as the civil wars whetted their courage; and that is all the good which can be ſaid of it. But, are the true principles of commerce to be found in that India company which appeared ſo flouriſhing after the ſcheme, and whoſe deceitful ſucceſs and ignorant attempts have terminated in a fatal ruin?

They have been better acquainted with commerce.

The fortune of the cardinal Dubois, ſon of an apothecary of the Limouſin, was as extraordinary, and more ſolid than that of Law. He became firſt miniſter to the regent, whoſe paſſions he flattered too much, and was by him turned into ridicule. After the death of Dubois, the duke of Orleans aſſumed the title of prime

Death of cardinal Dubois and the regent.

prime minister, because the king was then come of age. He died soon after, in the year 1723, and was succeeded in the ministry by the duke de Bourbon Condé, who was very soon supplanted by cardinal Fleury, an old man of seventy three, who had been introduced at court as preceptor to the king; amiable, gentle and pacifick, fond of order and economy; in a word, such as a minister ought to be, when the nation was rather in want of relief than splendour.

Cardinal Fleury.

CHAP. II.

Abdication of the two Kings, PHILIP V. *and* VICTOR AMADEUS.—*War of* 1734 *against the Emperour.—Treaty of* VIENNA.—ENGLAND *quarrels with* SPAIN.

Long peace.

THAT peace, so advantageous for the different nations, which Europe enjoyed from the treaty of Utrecht to the year 1734, which met with no interruption but from a short rupture between France and Spain, and one still shorter between Spain and England, affords very little matter for history. How happy should we be, if there were frequently such voids in our annals!

Abdication of Philip V.

Two kings who abdicated their crowns, presented a more interesting object than the triumphs of sanguinary ambition. Philip V. was determined to take that step, from his infirmities,

ities, from motives of devotion and melancholy. Little capable of governing, and always guided by others, he freed himſelf from a burden, by giving the ſceptre into the hands of his eldeſt ſon, Louis, who was a very hopeful prince, but being ſeized with the ſmall pox, died that ſame year (1724.) Philip was preſſed to reſume the crown, which he for ſome time declined, alleging that he had made a vow to perſevere in his abdication. The theologians declared the vow null, but the king only yielded to the arguments of his confeſſor. He aſſembled the *Cortes* to make them acknowledge the infant Ferdinand prince of Aſturias, that is, heir of the crown. In other reſpects the ancient power of theſe national aſſemblies was annihilated, and the monarch could do what he pleaſed, if a man of abilities.

He reſumes the crown.

Cortes.

An intriguing foreigner, the baron de Ripperda, a native of Holland, was next ſeen at the head of the Spaniſh government. He came into that country to eſtabliſh and manage ſome manufactures; but while he was engaged in this trade, he conceived ſome very extenſive projects, and undertook to terminate the diſputes between the courts of Vienna and Madrid. Having received a commiſſion for that purpoſe, he ſet out to negotiate ſecretly with prince Eugene, and in 1725 concluded a treaty, by which the emperour at laſt renounced Spain and the Indies, as Philip did the reſt of the ſucceſſion of Charles II. Ripperda, at his return, was created a duke and grandee of Spain, engroſſed the whole favour, and exerciſed the

The fortune of Ripperda.

Treaty which he concluded at Vienna.

greateſt authority. The war department, the marine and finances, all paſſed through his hands; but his genius, which was unequal to the taſk of ſuch an adminiſtration, immediately ſunk under the weight: He was diſgraced and impriſoned; but, having made his eſcape, fled to Morocco, where he died in miſery and contempt.

His diſgrace.

Victor Amadeus abdicates and repents.

The abdication of the duke of Savoy, king of Sardinia, was very different in its effects from that of Philip V. That famous Victor Amadeus, whoſe ambitious policy made him betray France and Spain to extend his dominions, in the year 1730 reſigned the crown to his ſon, Charles Emanuel III. but the devotion which induced him to take that ſtep, did not prevent him from repenting. The next year he wanted to reſume the power, and would have changed the face of affairs. His miſtreſs, whom he had married, undoubtedly whetted that deſire for governing, which is ſo difficult to be extinguiſhed when it has become neceſſary from habit. He formed cabals; and diſagreeable conſequences being apprehended, the council thought it was beſt to ſtifle them, by confining the old king. The prudence and virtue of Charles Emanuel, whoſe reign preſents an excellent model of good government, makes the beſt apology for ſuch a proceeding.

Inveſtiture of Parma, Placentia, and Tuſcany, for don Carlos.

During the general peace, different political intereſts agitated all the cabinets of Europe. Elizabeth Farneſe, queen of Spain, who governed her huſband, had nothing ſo much at heart as to procure an eſtabliſhment for her ſon,

don

don Carlos, in Italy. She wanted to ſecure to him the ſucceſſion of Parma and Placentia, as well as Tuſcany; ſtates whoſe ſovereigns were ſtill living. The popes had for a long time looked upon the two firſt dutchies as fiefs of the church, becauſe they had been a long time in poſſeſſion; but the emperours had always claimed the ancient rights of the empire; for it is not to be doubted that Parma and Placentia were formerly dependencies of the crown of Lombardy. In 1722, Charles VI. gave an act of inveſtiture for don Carlos, requiring that he ſhould go to Vienna to take the oath of fidelity; but the court of Madrid would not accept it upon theſe conditions. In 1724, he granted it upon ſuch terms as they pleaſed, and likewiſe for Tuſcany, extending the inveſtiture to all the children of the ſame marriage with Philip, and their heirs male. Though Tuſcany did not acknowledge that it was a fief of the empire, theſe inveſtitures might facilitate the acquiſition. According to M. Deſormeaux, pope Innocent XIII. made haſte, in 1723, to give the inveſtiture of Parma and Placentia, with a view of preſerving his claims upon theſe dutchies. If it was received, (which I do not know) it ſhews that all parties were reſolved to take the neceſſary precautions.

Quarrels between the courts of Vienna and Madrid.

The courts of Vienna and Madrid had too many ſubjects to conteſt, to ſuffer them long to continue in a good underſtanding. The laſt of them, having formed an alliance, in 1729, with Portugal, France, England, and Holland, treated the other with leſs delicacy. She obliged the emperour to diſſolve a commercial company

which he had attempted to eſtabliſh at Oſtend; and the allies having guaranteed the dominions to which ſhe laid claim in Italy, ſhe depended more upon the power of her arms, than upon the inveſtitures. At the death of Antonio Farneſe, the laſt duke of Parma, don Carlos made his appearance with an army which bore down all oppoſition, cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged heir of the grand duke at Florence, and fixed at Parma to wait for the other ſucceſſion. Charles VI. gave up thoſe pretenſions which he could not maintain.

Don Carlos eſtabliſhed in Italy.

By this means, notwithſtanding the weak character of the king of Spain, Elizabeth Farneſe gave life to the ſprings of government. The nation, languiſhing formerly under the dominion of the houſe of Auſtria, daily acquired greater vigour and activity, though ſtill far diſtant from that point of which it was capable. They retook Oran, of which the Moors had got poſſeſſion during the war of 1701. Their attempts to recover this important place, and Ceuta, had only brought upon them new loſſes. From a quarter in which it was leaſt expected, a flame was raiſed, which ſet all Europe in a blaze. Auguſtus II. king of Poland, who had been dethroned by Charles XII. and reſtored by Peter the Great, died in 1733, and his old competitor Staniſlaus was ſolemnly rechoſen. The emperour Charles VI. cauſed a ſecond election to be made, in favour of the elector of Saxony, ſon of the deceaſed, who was married to one of his nieces, and Ruſſia armed in favour of this prince. Ten thouſand well diſciplined

The government of Spain acquires vigour.

Staniſlaus a ſecond time choſen king of Poland.

The emperour and Ruſſia cauſe Auguſtus III. to be named.

Ruſſians

Ruſſians humbled the courage of the adherents of Staniſlaus, that warlike, but undiſciplined nobility, whom an exceſs of liberty had rendered the ſport of fortune. Auguſtus III. triumphed like his father, and Staniſlaus was beſieged in Dantzick. By a ſtroke of fortune as extraordinary as his other adventures, he was become father in law of the king of France, and from that quarter naturally expected aſſiſtance; but cardinal Fleury ſent only fifteen hundred men; ſo that Dantzick was obliged to ſubmit. The king of Poland, diſguiſed in the habit of a ſailor, fled through a thouſand dangers. The Ruſſian general had ſet a price upon his head; a piece of barbarity which the czarina Anne amply repaired, by treating the priſoners with the moſt noble generoſity.

Siege of Dantzick.

However much the miniſter of Louis XV. might be a friend to peace, the honour of the king and kingdom, in the publick opinion, compelled him to go to war; but, what is very uncommon, he knew how to render it uſeful. Not being in a ſituation to attack the Ruſſians, he turned the forces of France againſt the emperour. A league with the kings of Spain and Sardinia gave a more certain proſpect of ſucceſs, as England and Holland remained neuter: So much had the moderation of the French miniſter diſpelled former apprehenſions inſpired by Louis XIV! So much better is it to deſerve confidence by creating reſpect, than by ſpreading terrour!

France makes war upon the emperour.

By a war which continued two years, 1734 and 1735, the emperour was reduced to the greateſt

Deciſive campaigns in Italy.

greateſt extremity. The campaigns in Italy were brilliant and deciſive; and the mareſchal de Villars, at eighty two years of age, died in the bed of honour, after having taken Milan. The mareſchal de Coigni, who ſucceeded him, defeated the imperialiſts under the walls of Parma, where their general the count de Merci was killed, and then gained a ſecond battle at Guaſtalla. The count de Montemar, a native of Spain, who had gained the battle of Bitonto, conquered the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. He had the title of duke of Bitonto conferred upon him; a valuable monument of his victory.

Taking of Philipſburg.

The mareſchal de Berwick was killed at the ſiege of Philipſburg in Germany; but, however, the place was taken.

1736. Treaty of Vienna.

Stripped and preſſed on all quarters, the emperour employed the mediation of the maritime powers; but as the miniſter of France was ſincerely deſirous of a peace, it was concluded without a mediator. By the treaty, Spain gained for don Carlos the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, in exchange for the dutchies of Parma, Placentia, and Tuſcany. The king of Sardinia had Tortona, Novara, and Lanzo; and flattered himſelf with the hope of getting the whole of the Milaneſe, of which the court of Turin never loſt ſight. Staniſlaus preſerving the title and prerogatives of a king, for the ſecond time renounced Poland. Lorraine and the county of Bar were given to him, to be united, after his death, to the kingdom of France. The duke of Lorraine was to have Tuſcany in exchange, and Louis XV. ſecured him

Don Carlos king of the Two Sicilies.

Tuſcany diſpoſed of before the death of the grand duke.

him a revenue of three millions five hundred thouſand livres, till the death of the grand duke, John Gaſton, the laſt prince of the family of Medicis. This was the ſecond time of Tuſcany being diſpoſed of during the life of the ſovereign; a very extraordinary kind of politicks, which the treaties for the partition of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion had introduced. John Gaſton humorouſly aſked—*If they would not give him a third heir, and what child France and the empire would beget for him?* He died the following year.

Pragmatick ſanction of Charles VI. guaranteed by France.

At laſt France, by the treaty of Vienna, guaranteed the pragmatick ſanction of Charles VI. with regard to the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Auſtria; a matter of ſuch delicacy, that though the preliminaries were executed in 1736, the treaty was not ſigned till 1738. This pragmatick, which was publiſhed a dozen years ago, was deſigned to prevent the partition of the Auſtrian dominions, in caſe of the failure of heirs male, which very ſoon happened. Several princes had rights and pretenſions, failing heirs male of Auſtria; and Charles VI. without either conſulting or negotiating with them, wanted that a particular law ſhould be binding upon them all, and oblige them to ſacrifice their intereſts. This is another phenomenon of modern politicks ſufficiently remarkable. This great ſucceſſion ſet all Europe in a flame.

In the mean time, a ſea war broke out between England and Spain for a moſt trifling reaſon; which, better than any thing, ſerves to prove, that, even in the ages of philoſophy,

nations

nations are little governed by the principles of natural right. We ſhall take notice of the origin of theſe quarrels, to which an unjuſtifiable commerce gave riſe.

The government of George I.

George I. died in the year 1727, not at all beloved by the Engliſh, becauſe he encroached upon their liberties. Being maſter of the parliament, he raiſed the greateſt ſupplies, which were employed for the intereſts of the electorate, and not of Great Britain. Towards the end of his reign, the diſpoſal of the publick money was left to him; and the commons gave up that privilege of inſpecting the publick accounts, which had formerly been thought ſo neceſſary, to limit the power of the crown. In a word, they experienced two very dangerous inconveniences, in a much greater degree than under king William; that of having a foreign ſovereign, whoſe political intereſts might be very different from thoſe of the nation; and of corruption, by which the court procured ſuch influence in the tranſactions of parliament.

The ſpirit of liberty exceſſive.

The paſſion for liberty, however, ſtill fermented to ſuch a degree, that the people exclaimed againſt an order to build lazarettos, and eſtabliſh a quarantine to preſerve the kingdom from the plague, which had then overſpread Provence. Theſe were odious cuſtoms, ſaid they, copied from the *arbitrary* government of France, and contrary to the liberties of England.

George II.

To George I. ſucceeded his ſon, George II. whom he had kept at a diſtance from the affairs of government, but whom the nation thought more

more worthy of the throne. Sir Robert Walpole, an able and pacifick miniſter, was of the ſame opinion with cardinal Fleury, that nothing was ſo much to be wiſhed as peace, in the exhauſted ſtate in which the war of 1701 had thrown all the ſtates of Europe. For this reaſon, England did not intermeddle in the diſpute between France and the emperour; but that miniſter was at laſt drawn from his ſyſtem by the ambitious genius of the nation.

Walpole a pacifick miniſter.

To ſecure the empire of the ſea, to extend a commerce already immenſe, to ruin or weaken that of other maritime powers, is what the Engliſh ſeem to have had in view ever ſince they made a progreſs in America. The Spaniſh government, rouſing from its lethargy, which had long continued, complained in vain of the contraband trade, which, in contempt of its rights, was carried on by the Engliſh, and, to put a ſtop to their courſes, added to its number of guarda coſtas. They ſeized ſome veſſels, and, perhaps, ſometimes exceeded the bounds of moderation and juſtice; an inconvenience almoſt always inevitable in ſuch circumſtances. However it was, the diſputes became more vehement; and the quarrel, which began about one ſhip, extended to other objects: The limits of Florida and Carolina afforded new matter for conteſt. The Engliſh loudly exclaimed, and began hoſtilities: The government was not able to reſiſt the frenzy with which the people were tranſported. A treaty had been juſt concluded with Spain, by which Philip V. obliged himſelf to pay ninety five thouſand pounds ſterling

Ambition of the Engliſh: Their quarrels with Spain.

to

to England, as a ſatisfaction for the loſſes ſhe ſaid ſhe had ſuſtained, and of which ſhe complained ſword in hand. In the mean time, the people exclaimed more loudly. Hoſtilities were not ſuſpended; and as they prevented Philip from paying the ſum, that pretence was laid hold of for declaring war in 1739. Admiral Vernon took Porto Bello, and razed it to the ground; but he failed in an attempt upon Carthagena.

Reflections upon commercial wars.

The more we examine the nature of commerce, by which nations ſhould be united, and which ſhould only flouriſh under the ſhadow of peace, the leſs can we conceive the madneſs of wars occaſioned by commercial diſputes kindled by blind intereſt. What advantage can equal the expenſes which they bring upon nations, and the loſſes which they occaſion? Muſt nations then become the victims of the avarice of merchants? Muſt Europe be ruined and depopulated for ſome deſerts in America, whoſe culture muſt be ſlow, and its produce ſo uncertain? That there ſhould be quarrels about trade, is nothing ſurpriſing; but, inſtead of their being terminated amicably, that the different nations ſhould make them a ſubject for going to war, is what we cannot reconcile with the principles of ſound reaſon, humanity, or true policy.

Charles VI. preſſed by the Turks.

The court of France endeavoured in vain to prevent this fatal rupture; but ſhe ſucceeded better in her mediation in favour of Charles VI. who was hard preſſed by the Turks. Ruſſia, as we formerly obſerved, had cauſed ſome troops to march into Poland, to eſtabliſh Auguſtus

guſtus III. upon that throne; and the court of Conſtantinople, looking upon that proceeding as an infraction of treaties, permitted the Tartars to take up arms. An open war very ſoon began, in which the emperour became the ally of Ruſſia; and while the Ruſſians were gaining advantages, Charles VI. was loſing his conqueſts. Belgrade was beſieged; and being threatened with an invaſion, he found himſelf incapable of repulſing the enemy, and therefore took advantage of the mediation offered by France. The peace was concluded, in the Turkiſh camp, in the year 1739, when Belgrade, Servia, and Auſtrian Wallachia, were ceded to them. A month after, a treaty was concluded with Ruſſia. She had taken poſſeſſion of Azoph, which was left to her; but upon condition of the fortifications being demoliſhed, and without having the privilege of employing veſſels upon the Black Sea. The ſultan obliged himſelf to give to that power the title of emperour, to which the Turks attach a great ſuperiority over that of king. The czarina Anne was ſtill on the throne. Such is the extraordinary deſtiny of the Ruſſians, that the glory of their empire, eſtabliſhed by a great man, has rapidly increaſed under women.

He cedes Belgrade, &c. to the Turks.

Azoph ceded to the Ruſſians.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

DEATH *of the Emperour* CHARLES VI.—*Claims to his Succeſſion.—The King of* PRUSSIA *gives the Signal for War.—*FRANCE *joins againſt the Queen of* HUNGARY.

1740. Death of Charles VI.

CHARLES VI. died in 1740, without iſſue male; an event parallel to the death of Charles II. of Spain, which was likely to occaſion dreadful conſequences. Thus the houſe of Auſtria became extinct; that family, whoſe grandeur may be traced back to Rodolphus of Hapſburg, who was emperour in 1223; a family greatly aggrandized by marriages; particularly by that of Maximilian I. with the heireſs of Burgundy, Philip with the heireſs of Spain, and Ferdinand I. with the heireſs of Hungary and Bohemia; a family which had been eſtabliſhed upon the imperial throne for more than three hundred years; ſometimes oppreſſing Germany by attempts at deſpotick power, ſometimes by political addreſs; a family whoſe power would probably have engroſſed every other, or at leaſt given law to all Europe, if cardinal Richelieu had not reigned in France under Louis XIII.

The late emperours employed the forces of the empire for their private intereſts.

It may be looked upon as a kind of phenomenon, that, after the decline of its power, it could employ the forces of the empire for purpoſes unconnected with the intereſts of Germany, which was the effect of extraordinary prudence

prudence in governing opinions. We have already obſerved, and it ought to be repeated, the terrour of the French name did more than the authority of the emperour. The court of Vienna always affected to be afraid of an ambitious, overgrown power, ready to cruſh the neighbouring nations. By ſpreading falſe alarms, ſhe procured aſſiſtance ; and by pointing out her own weakneſs, obtained forces. This was the conſequence of the wars of Louis XIV.

Publick rights of Germany under Charles VI.

Beſides, the Germans were always exceſſively jealous of the liberty of the ſtates of the empire, confirmed by the peace of Weſtphalia. The capitulation of Charles VI. among other articles, bears—1. That he ſhall not attempt any thing againſt the three religions. 2. That he ſhall not cauſe his troops to march through the territories of any of the princes, without their conſent. 3. That he ſhall preſerve the juriſdiction of the imperial chamber, and not allow the miniſters for the affairs of his own dominions to intermeddle in thoſe of the Aulick council. 4. That he ſhall not arrogate to himſelf the ſucceſſion of thoſe whoſe property ſhall be confiſcated by the ban. 5. That, without the conſent of the ſtates aſſembled in diet, he ſhall make no change in the laws ; nor make war, peace, or alliance, for the empire : He ſhall not exact any contribution, nor make any regulation concerning commerce or money. 6. That he ſhall not put any ſtate under the ban of the empire, without the conſent of all the reſt. 7. That he ſhall not reſtrain the ſtates in their deliberations, nor preſcribe the ſubjects to which they

they are to give the preference in their deliberations, &c. (*See* Pfeffel.) Such is ſtill the publick law of Germany, the only country in the world where order could be eſtabliſhed in the feudal conſtitution.

To whom the ſucceſſion properly belonged.

In virtue of the pragmatick ſanction of Charles VI. the whole inheritance of his family was ſettled on Maria Thereſa, his eldeſt daughter, wife of Francis de Lorraine, grand duke of Tuſcany. The kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, Sileſia, Auſtrian Suabia, Upper and Lower Auſtria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, the four foreſt towns*, Burgaw, Briſgaw, the Low Countries, the dutchy of Friuli, the country of Tirol, the Milaneſe, the dutchies of Parma and Placentia, formed this immenſe ſucceſſion. Almoſt all the powers had guaranteed this pragmatick; but prince Eugene, who died in 1736, judiciouſly obſerved, that *an army of a hundred thouſand men would guarantee it better than a hundred thouſand treaties.* In fact, how could war be avoided, while the ambition of a number of princes had claims to ſupport?

Claims of a number of princes.

Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, laid claim to the ſucceſſion of Bohemia, in virtue of the will of Ferdinand I. Auguſtus III. king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, claimed the whole in right of his wife, eldeſt daughter of the emperour Joſeph, who was the eldeſt brother of Charles VI. The king of Spain derived ſimilar pretenſions from the daughter of Maximilian

* The four foreſt towns are, Waldſhut, Lauffenburg, Seckingen, and Rheinfeld.

milian II. wife of Philip II. from whom he was deſcended by the female line. The king of Sardinia likewiſe had his claims; and the king of France might have been a competitor, as heir in right of the wife of Louis XIII. and of Louis XIV. from the eldeſt branch of the houſe of Auſtria; but from motives of prudence, as well as moderation, he did not think of aggrandizing himſelf.

Rights of Europe too uncertain.

From the time that the feudal government ſpread darkneſs and uncertainty in the order of ſucceſſion to kingdoms, Europe has been inceſſantly expoſed to bloody revolutions. To whom ought a people to belong? It is too often a matter of diſpute, the moſt thorny of all, a conteſt begun with the pen, and which arms alone can decide. Is it then impoſſible, in the ages of humanity and reaſon, for the ſovereigns, in concert, to cut theſe evils to the root?

Maria Thereſa makes herſelf beloved by the Hungarians.

All appeared quiet at firſt, and Maria Thereſa, a virtuous, prudent, affable princeſs, in whom all thoſe qualities were united which impreſs the mind with love and reſpect, took poſſeſſion of the great inheritance left to her by her father, without meeting any obſtruction. She took the ancient oath to the Hungarians, by which, in caſe their privileges are violated, it is lawful *for them to defend themſelves without being treated as rebels*. This proceeding made her adored by a people whom her anceſtors had always found rebellious, becauſe they obliged them to defend their privileges.

Frederick III. king of Pruſſia.

Frederick III. king of Pruſſia, a prince hitherto little known, at the age of twenty eight, was the

the firſt who took arms, and ſingly began a war which very ſoon ſet all Europe in a flame. His grandfather, who was decorated with the title of king by the emperour Leopold, only maintained the dignity by pompous diſſipation. His father, who was a man of very different character, peopled Pruſſia by inducing foreigners to ſettle in the country, and by making agriculture flouriſh; he diſciplined a numerous army, amaſſed an immenſe treaſure by economy; and, in ſome degree, prepared materials for the greatneſs of his ſon, whom, however, he treated with ſeverity. This ſon was bred up in adverſity, an excellent ſchool for ſovereigns. To eminent talents he added a taſte for reading and reflection; political, warlike, powerful, an enemy of luxury, having fourſcore millions of livres in his treaſury, and an army of more than a hundred thouſand men; of what was he not capable, if he indulged in the ambition of a hero, an ambition ſo difficult to ſuppreſs in ſuch circumſtances.

His power and abilities.

Frederick had but juſt aſcended the throne, when old claims to ſome dutchies in Sileſia afforded him a pretence for going to war. A month after the death of the emperour, he entered this rich province at the head of thirty thouſand men, attacking the queen of Hungary, whom he at the ſame time offered to defend, upon condition of her ſurrendering Lower Sileſia. On the one hand, Maria Thereſa, by accepting ſuch a propoſal, would have ſhewn a weakneſs which could not fail to bring upon her new enemies; and on the other, the king of Pruſſia plainly foreſaw that his bold proceeding muſt

He arms ſuddenly, and chooſes his time well.

muſt procure him allies, if his offers were rejected. His ſituation was the more advantageous, as the heireſs of Charles VI. though poſſeſſed of vaſt territories, was deſtitute both of troops and money ; but this courageous princeſs reſolved to defend herſelf. At the battle of Molwitz, in 1741, the Pruſſians ſhewed how formidable they were by their diſcipline ; for the cavalry being broken, the king's baggage plundered, and himſelf in danger of being made a priſoner, the intrepid ſteadineſs and continual fire of the infantry recovered all ; and in the end he gained the victory, a preſage of greater ſucceſs.

Notwithſtanding the oppoſition of cardinal Fleury, France joins in the war.

The king of Pruſſia was not miſtaken in his conjectures ; for other powers, invited by his ſucceſs, took up arms againſt the queen of Hungary. Cardinal Fleury, who was averſe from war, owing to the circumſpection of old age, as well as the moderation of his temper, (he was then eighty five) wanted to end in peace his career, which had been always fortunate ; and France having guaranteed the pragmatick of the emperour, this guarantee, though of little importance if it was unjuſt, confirmed him in his pacifick ſyſtem. But the count, ſince mareſchal and duke, de Belleiſle, and his brother the chevalier de Belleiſle, two men of a projecting turn, of active and enterpriſing genius, with great powers of perſuaſion, by their diſcourſes and intrigues ſucceeded ſo far, as to inſpire a reſolution contrary to the views of the miniſter. They imagined, that to weaken the new houſe of Auſtrian Lorraine was to complete the great

The brothers Belleiſle were the cauſe.

political plan of the celebrated Richelieu; and this was the foundation of their ſyſtems.

Projects and alliances againſt the queen of Hungary.

To accompliſh this, a deſign was formed of procuring for the elector of Bavaria the imperial crown, and a part of the dominions of Charles VI. It was reſolved to join with the kings of Pruſſia and Poland the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, who were intereſted in diſmembering the ſucceſſion. It was propoſed to ſtrip Maria Thereſa of ſeveral branches of her inheritance guaranteed by treaties; and the count de Belleiſle, who was charged with the negotiation, travelled over Germany and ſettled the whole project. Succeſs ſeemed infallible, and the meaſures for the execution were arranged with prudence. But by what viciſſitudes might they not be thwarted!

CHAP. IV.

The Elector of Bavaria Emperour, by the Name of CHARLES VII.—*His Succeſs and Reverſe of Fortune.—Battle of* DETTINGEN.—*Don* PHILIP *and the Prince of* CONTI *in Italy.*

1741. Progreſs of the elector of Bavaria.

THE elector of Bavaria, who by letters patent was appointed lieutenant general of Louis XV. immediately made himſelf maſter of Paſſaw, penetrated into Auſtria as far as Lintz, and Vienna was thought to be threatened with a ſiege, which it was not in a ſituation to ſuſtain. To have got poſſeſſion of the capital would

would have been a deciſive blow; but inſtead of making the attempt, or purſuing the queen, who had fled for ſhelter to Hungary; inſtead of profiting by the eſſential moment, the elector, impatient to get himſelf crowned king of Bohemia, invaded that country, and took the great city of Prague by eſcalade. After the ceremony of the coronation he went to receive the imperial crown at Francfort, and was raiſed to the head of the empire, by the name of Charles VII. The king of Pruſſia had, in the mean time, conquered Moravia; and a more deplorable ſituation than that of Maria Thereſa can ſcarcely be imagined.

He cauſed himſelf to be crowned king of Bohemia and emperour.

But even the danger procured her reſources. The ſpeech which ſhe made in Latin to the Hungarians, when ſhe threw herſelf upon their loyalty, made them melt into tears, and drawing their ſabres, they exclaimed—*Let us die for our* KING MARIA THERESA; they no longer thought of any thing but defending this princeſs, who truly deſerved to be reckoned among the number of great kings. England and Holland not yet daring to declare themſelves, though they had guaranteed the pragmatick of Charles VI. ſent her aſſiſtance in money.

The ſentiments of the Hungarians for their queen.

" *The whole Engliſh nation were animated in* " *her favour. They are a people who form an* " *opinion for themſelves, without waiting that* " *of their ſovereign. . . . . The dutcheſs of* " *Marlborough aſſembled the principal ladies of* " *London, who engaged to raiſe for her a hun-* " *dred thouſand pounds ſterling, and the dutcheſs* " *depoſited forty thouſand; but the queen of Hun-*

The generoſity of the Engliſh in her favour.

" *gary had the greatneſs of ſoul to refuſe this money* " *which they had the generoſity to offer : She* " *would accept of none but what ſhe expected* " *from the nation aſſembled in parliament.*" (Voltaire.) This is one of thoſe inſtances on which England juſtly may pride herſelf.

Complicated faults of her enemies.

The enemies of the queen did her ſtill better ſervice by the faults they committed ; they quarrelled, they complained of each other, which of courſe injured their cauſe. The mareſchal de Belleiſle, who had drawn France into this war, in which ſhe was not at all intereſted, conducted her operations but badly. Mareſchal Broglio was aſſociated with him, but to no purpoſe, from the miſunderſtanding which prevailed between the two chiefs. They had too few cavalry, and prince Charles, brother of the grand duke, haraſſed and galled their army with his pandours, talpaches, croats, and huſſars, a dreadful ſcourge for a ſcattered army eaſy to be ſurpriſed ; and at laſt the French and Bavarian troops were reduced to almoſt nothing, without having come to any action of importance.

Diſaſters, without coming to any important action.

Cardinal Fleury ſhews great weakneſs.

A fault of the miniſtry completed their ruin. Cardinal Fleury, oppreſſed with old age, more affected by theſe misfortunes, as he had always hitherto been ſucceſsful, and the war was entered into againſt his inclinations, made an offer of peace ; not with proper dignity and courage, but like a weak miniſter, who complained of the general that was employed as negotiator, and whoſe counſels prevailed over his particular ſentiments. His letters were publiſhed ; they

ſerved

ſerved to inſpire the friends of the queen of Hungary with greater confidence, and diſguſted the allies of France; the burden of the war fell upon that nation, as it did in the time of Louis XIV. and the Spaniſh ſucceſſion.

Loſſes of the emperour and France.

Prague was already evacuated, and the mareſchal de Belleiſle had only the honour of ſaving about thirteen thouſand men, the wreck of a great and victorious army, by making a difficult retreat. From the heart of Germany, where they had been victorious, they were obliged to fall back towards the Rhine, to act upon the defenſive in that quarter; and the emperour Charles VII. could not even ſave Bavaria. He had been driven from thence oftener than once, was deprived of his dominions, reduced to the condition of a fugitive, and experienced almoſt the ſame fate with his father.

Death of cardinal Fleury.

The death of cardinal Fleury, in January 1743, changed the meaſures of government. The king took the adminiſtration into his own hands, and prepared to command the army. His miniſter, however able in other reſpects, and attentive to the good of the nation, had totally neglected the marine; being of a pacifick diſpoſition, and an economiſt, he did not entertain ſufficiently extenſive views. How was it poſſible for him not to ſee that the kingdom would one day be in want of ſhips, and the danger to which it was expoſed from that want? How ſtrange, that he did not think of profiting by the long peace, to ſecure ſuch eſſential force to the kingdom, and to guard againſt the dangers

The marine neglected.

gers of war! The Engliſh took advantage of that political errour.

1743. Battle of Dettingen, remarkable in ſome circumſtances.

They ſupported the queen of Hungary in quality of auxiliaries, in the ſame manner as France did the emperour, and on both ſides the auxiliaries became principals. They tried their ſtrength at the battle of Dettingen, in the electorate of Mentz, where George II. with his ſecond ſon the duke of Cumberland, joined the army, which was commanded by the earl of Stair, a pupil of the famous Marlborough. The mareſchal de Noailles at the head of the French army, had cut off the enemy's proviſions, by which they were reduced to the neceſſity of making a dangerous march, where they might be overpowered. By the excellence of his diſpoſitions, he had in a manner made himſelf ſure of a complete victory; but his inſtructions were not obeyed, and all his meaſures defeated by impetuoſity, a fault which has often been fatal to France. A lieutenant general quitted an advantageous poſt, where he was commanded to wait, attacked the enemy before they fell into the ſnare, entangled himſelf in a defile, where his men fought with courage, but in diſorder, when the houſehold troops ſhewed prodigies of valour, and loſt a number of heroes to no purpoſe. After a ſevere action, which laſted three hours, where the duke of Cumberland was wounded by the ſide of the king his father, the mareſchal de Noailles retreated, and this retreat was the ſole proof of his having loſt the battle.

M.

Faults on both ſides.

M. de Voltaire relates, that the Engliſh general ſaid to him ſome weeks after—"*The French committed one great fault, and we two; yours was, that you could not wait; and ours were, firſt, that we brought ourſelves into imminent danger of being deſtroyed, and afterwards, that we did not profit by the victory.*" (Voltaire.) How often has it been found, that French vivacity, little capable of *waiting*, ruſhes on to the precipice, if not reſtrained by ſtrict diſcipline? Nations are like individuals, hurried on by their character, ſeldom reſtrained by experience; and the ſame faults renew the ſame misfortunes.

Italy another theatre of war.

Italy could not eſcape the conflagration of war. The king of Spain having a title to the Milaneſe after the death of the emperour Charles VI. and a claim on the inheritance of the family of Farneſe for his children of the ſecond marriage, was reſolved to form an eſtabliſhment out of all theſe dominions for don Philip, brother of the king of Naples. The Milaneſe likewiſe preſented an object for the pretenſions of the king of Sardinia, who, without renouncing them, joined the queen of Hungary, becauſe his intereſt made it neceſſary, reſerving till a more convenient opportunity to take other meaſures. Political views determined him to enter into this alliance; and he did what his father would not have done, he had the honeſty to declare, that political views might again diſſolve it.

The king of Sardinia ſides with the Auſtrians.

Pretended neutralities.

About the end of the year 1741, the duke de Montemar, the ſame who was victorious at Bitonto, entered Italy with ſome forces, but was not

not fortunate, owing to the ſuperiour ſtrength of the king of Sardinia, who had joined the Auſtrians. One thing very extraordinary is, the apparent neutrality of the other ſovereigns of Italy, all of them declaring themſelves neuter, through fear, though attached to ſome party; except Benedict XIV. a prudent pontiff, who acted on the principle of common father.

The method taken by the Engliſh to determine the king of Naples.

As to the king of Naples, (don Carlos) he was determined by the Engliſh. One of their ſquadrons threatened to bombard his capital, if he did not promiſe to recal his troops from the Spaniſh army, and gave him only one hour to determine. Not being in a ſtate of defence, don Carlos was obliged to put up with the inſult, and therefore gave his promiſe. Such is the ſuperiority conferred by the empire of the ſea.

Sea fight off Toulon.

The Engliſh fleet being maſter of the Mediterranean, the infant don Philip could not land at Genoa; he therefore turned his arms againſt Savoy, of which he made himſelf maſter. A Spaniſh fleet was at Toulon, either with an intention of conveying him into Italy, or to ſupply him with proviſions, and give him all poſſible aſſiſtance; but it was kept confined in the port by the Engliſh admiral, Matthews. After having for ſome time exerciſed their gunners, they ventured to engage a ſuperiour force, when twelve Spaniſh and fourteen French ſhips fought againſt forty five Engliſh. They met in February 1744, but the victory was not deciſive; yet even that was in ſome degree to have gained it, though it did not prevent Matthews from keeping

keeping the empire of the ſea. To wreſt it from the Engliſh would require a naval force of long ſtanding, and capable of ſuſtaining continued efforts.

1744. Don Philip and the prince of Conti paſs the Alps.

France, which had hitherto acted only as an auxiliary, at laſt declared war againſt king George and Maria Thereſa, and attempted ſome conſiderable enterpriſes. Don Philip, from whom the king of Sardinia very ſoon retook Savoy, was ſupported by a French army, under the command of the prince of Conti. Theſe two princes having croſſed the Var, reduced the county of Nice; and though ſome fortreſſes and formidable intrenchments in the Alps oppoſed their progreſs, every obſtruction yielded to their valour. Conti forced the paſs of Villa Franca, which was conſidered as one of the beſt defences of Piedmont, and acroſs a thouſand dangers, advanced to Montealbano, where the French, in open day, ſcaled intrenchments ſituated upon a rock, and carried them, though the king, Charles Emanuel, was behind them, and his troops animated by his preſence. He next carried Chateau Dauphin, and penetrated as far as Demont, in the valley of Sturc, making himſelf maſter of that fortreſs, equally formidable from its ſituation and the ſtrength of the works. The plain of Piedmont was then open, and Coni beſieged.

Villa Franca, Montealbano, &c. forced.

Battle and ſiege of Coni.

So many dangers ſurmounted, and ſo many inſtances of brilliant ſucceſs, inſpired a fallacious confidence, which was increaſed by a victory. The king of Sardinia attacked the beſiegers in their lines; but notwithſtanding the excellence of

of his diſpoſitions, he was defeated with the loſs of about five thouſand men: However, the conquerors raiſed the ſiege of Coni, being themſelves defeated by the rigour of the ſeaſon in the month of October, by the inundations and other difficulties, which render the war in Italy ſo dangerous, when the maſter of the Alps is to be oppoſed. It was therefore neceſſary to repaſs the mountains.

Other expeditions in Italy.

The count de Gages, ſurnamed Campo Santo, from the name of an indeciſive action in which he had ſignalized himſelf, commanded the army, which in the beginning was under the duke de Montemar. In conjunction with the duke of Modena, and afterwards ſupported by the king of Naples, he recovered the ſuperiority which he had formerly loſt. Yet general Lobkowitz was very near making both the king of Naples and the duke of Modena priſoners in Veletri. This ſurpriſe in every thing reſembled that of Cremona by prince Eugene; and the Auſtrians were repulſed. Thus there were always great hopes in Italy; but let us ſee what was paſſing in other quarters.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Campaigns of LOUIS XV.—*Battle of* FONTENOY, *and Conqueſt of* FLANDERS.—*Don* PHILIP *in Poſſeſſion of* MILAN, *and ſeveral Provinces.*

The queen of Hungary triumphant in Germany.

WE left the queen of Hungary triumphant in Germany, after concluding a peace with the king of Pruſſia, who ſecured Sileſia to himſelf by the treaty of Breſlau. Freed from ſuch a formidable enemy, ſhe proſecuted her advantages with ardour. Charles VII. a fugitive in Francfort, had only the empty title of emperour, which was diſputed with him; as the queen, by a memorial, had declared his election null, becauſe ſhe wanted to place the imperial crown upon the head of her huſband. The frontiers of France, upon the Rhine, were threatened; and even the provinces conquered by Louis XIV. were invited to return under the Auſtrian dominion.

1744. First campaign of Louis XV.

In the critical ſituation affairs then were, Louis XV. made his firſt campaign, and attacked the Low Countries. The count d'Argenſon, who had the charge of the war department, was a man worthy of ſeconding the views of the monarch, and the preparations were ſo diſpoſed as to promiſe ſucceſs. Courtrai, Menin, Ipres, Furnes, and Fort Knock, were very ſoon taken; and mareſchal Saxe, natural brother

brother of the king of Poland, whoſe attention extended to every thing, covered theſe ſieges with a body of the army.

He goes to Metz to defend his provinces.

Having ſuddenly received news that prince Charles of Lorraine had croſſed the Rhine, was got into Alſace, and making conſiderable progreſs; that parties of the enemy had penetrated into Lorraine, and that Staniſlaus king of Poland, being no longer in ſafety, had quitted Luneville; Louis abandoned the theatre of his conqueſts, and haſtened to the protection of his provinces. Having arrived at Metz, he received the news of the king of Pruſſia being ſet out to ſeize Bohemia. Frederick prudently regulated his conduct by circumſtances, and entered into a new alliance againſt the queen of Hungary, becauſe he was afraid that, if ſhe became too powerful, ſhe would one day deprive him of the fruits of his conqueſts; and therefore poured into Bohemia, forced Prague after a ſiege of ten days, and made the garriſon, of fifteen thouſand men, priſoners of war. That hero ſeemed invincible.

The king of Pruſſia joined with France.

Prince Charles makes the Pruſſians evacuate Bohemia.

Prince Charles diligently repaſſed the Rhine without loſs, like a great general who cannot be ſurpriſed; but, however rapid his march, it was not ſo ſpeedy as the conqueſt of the Pruſſians; and though he could not prevent them, he had the honour of repairing the misfortune. He obliged the enemy to evacuate Bohemia, croſſed the Elbe before Frederick, and advanced into Sileſia. Nothing was to be ſeen but revolutions.

After

After a dangerous diſorder, which filled all France with ſorrow and apprehenſion, Louis XV. took Friburg; though the governour did not capitulate till two months after the trenches were opened. The emperour Charles VII. recovered Bavaria, but was ſtill afraid of being driven from Munich, as the king of Pruſſia had been from Prague, when he ſunk under diſeaſe and the vexation by which he was conſumed. He died in January, 1745, at the age of forty ſeven, the moſt unfortunate of men, ſolely from his ambition and deſire of power, though in the early part of his life deſervedly happy. His ſon Maximilian Joſeph, at the age of ſeventeen, was ſoon obliged to detach himſelf from France.

1745. Siege of Friburg.

Death of the emperour Charles VII.

It might have naturally been expected that the death of the Bavarian emperour would have put an end to the war; but it was kept up by private reſentment. The Engliſh finding themſelves threatened with an invaſion, in favour of Charles Edward, ſon of the pretender, gave vent to their hatred of the French name, as in the time of Louis XIV. their money flowed in all quarters with profuſion, and all the allies ſeemed to be engaged in their pay. They furniſhed five hundred thouſand pounds to the queen of Hungary, and two hundred thouſand to the king of Sardinia; they paid a great ſum to the king of Poland, whom they had drawn into the confederacy; and gave ſubſidies to the elector of Mentz, and even of Cologne, the brother of Charles VII. for liberty to raiſe men in his dominions. After long heſitation, Holland

Animoſity of the Engliſh.

Their expenſes for this war.

land eſpouſed the ſame quarrel. The heireſs of the houſe of Auſtria, far from yielding, already thought herſelf entitled to a recompenſe; and France, always deſirous of peace, at laſt took an improper method to obtain it. She wanted Spain to gain over the king of Sardinia, as ſhe attempted to gain the Dutch; but her moderation only ſerved to cheriſh the confidence of her enemies, and ſtrengthen their pretenſions. The only proper ſtep to be taken, was to puſh the war with vigour, that the enemy might be made deſirous of that peace of which they felt the neceſſity; and therefore more effectual meaſures were taken.

Exceſſive moderation of France.

Siege was laid to Tournai, the principal town of the Dutch barrier; upon which the enemy were determined to come to an engagement; and their army, conſiſting of at leaſt fifty five thouſand men, compoſed of Engliſh, Hanoverians, and Dutch, with ſcarcely any Auſtrians, advanced to that neighbourhood. Mareſchal Saxe, whoſe laſt campaign had been a maſterpiece of military ſkill, exhauſted by a lingering diſorder, quitted Paris, ſaying—*The buſineſs is not living, but marching*. The king joined the army with the dauphin, and obſerved, the evening before the action, that, ſince the battle of Poitiers no king of France had gained a ſignal victory againſt the Engliſh, adding, that he hoped to be the firſt; and his expectation was not diſappointed.

Siege of Tournai.

Mareſchal Saxe.

The famous battle of Fontenoy was fought the 11th of May, 1745. The author of the Age of Louis XIV. has written a detail of this action,

Battle of Fontenoy.

action, so deserving of his pen, and so interesting to the nation. I shall only take notice of what is most essential. The Dutch, after having twice attacked the post of Antoin, no longer continued to act; but the intrepidity of the English and Hanoverians brought France into the greatest danger. The duke of Cumberland, son of George II. by whom they were commanded, advanced into a narrow ground, with his troops formed in a close impenetrable column, exposed to a most dreadful fire. This column penetrated gradually across innumerable obstacles, and, by its weight bore down every opposition. The French, not acting in concert, were repulsed in every quarter; and it was believed the battle was lost: The general several times sent to intreat the king to retire, but Louis would not quit his post. At last an expedient was hit upon, which was to level four pieces of cannon against the English column, and when the cannon had made some impression, to cause the household troops, and some others, to join in the charge; by which means the victory was decided. The enemy retreated in good order, with the loss of nine thousand men. *You see upon what the success of battles depends*, said mareschal Saxe to the king; and thousands of examples serve to shew that they are decided by accidents or critical moments.

English column.

What decided the victory.

The king of Prussia gained one a few days after in Silesia, and wrote to Louis XV.—*I have discharged the bill at Friedberg, which you drew upon me at Fontenoy.* Amidst the hurry of war

Battle of Friedberg.

Frederick

Frederick ſtill cultivated that lively wit which he had acquired from his having a taſte for French literature.

Peace offered in vain by Louis.

Such was the moderation of Louis, that the very day of the victory he cauſed a letter to be written to his miniſter in Holland, declaring his readineſs to ſacrifice his conqueſts to the peace of Europe; but neither the courts of England nor of Vienna had the ſame pacifick diſpoſition. All the fruits of the victory were rapidly gathered. Tournai yielded, as did Ghent, where the enemy had their magazines, after the battle of Meſle, famous for the ſurpriſing actions of ſome officers. Oudenarde, Bruges, and Dendermonde, made but little reſiſtance; and Oſtend, which had held out more than a three years ſiege againſt Spinola, was obliged to ſurrender in fifteen days; Nieuport and Aeth yielded after Louis quitted the army, and the whole country of Flanders was reduced.

Conqueſt of Flanders.

Don Philip maſter in Italy.

The ſucceſs of the campaign was not leſs rapid in Italy. Genoa having made a treaty with Spain, the troops had a free paſſage. The Spaniſh army, with that of France under the command of the mareſchal de Maillebois, and the troops of Genoa, amounted to about eighty thouſand men. The count de Gages, after having purſued the Auſtrians from the eccleſiaſtical ſtate as far as Modena, came to join the grand army. They attacked the king of Sardinia, who was intrenched between Valencia and Alexandria, compelled him to fall back towards Caſal, and don Philip very ſoon became maſter of Milan, Parma, Placentia, Montferrat,

Montferrat, Tortonois, &c. In the mean time, Charles Edward, who had diſembarked with ſeven officers in Scotland, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed regent at Edinburgh. (I ſhall mention this expedition in another place.) They triumphed, but they were very ſoon ſtruck with diſmay.

CHAP. VI.

Second Peace of the KING *of* PRUSSIA *with the Queen of* HUNGARY.—FRANCIS I. *elected Emperour.—The* FRENCH *and* SPANIARDS *driven out of* ITALY *in* 1746.

THOUGH the king of Pruſſia was then victorious, and the prince of Conti commanded a French army in the neighbourhood of Francfort, the queen of Hungary gained the point at which ſhe always aimed, by getting her huſband, Francis of Lorraine, choſen emperour in September, 1745. The Auſtrian troops that were employed to cover Francfort, facilitated the election; but the ambaſſadours of the king of Pruſſia and the elector palatine withdrawing from the electoral diet, proteſted againſt its validity; which, however, being conformable to the laws of the empire, was not the leſs effectual.

Francis of Lorraine emperour.

The king of Pruſſia, a prince of the greateſt abilities, had already ſeized the moment which

The king of Pruſſia ſeizes Saxony, and

makes a second peace.

was favourable for the intereſt of his crown, and wanted to procure an advantageous peace. He applied for the mediation of Ruſſia, but he knew a ſhorter method to accompliſh his purpoſe, which was to take poſſeſſion of Saxony; and accordingly, after having gained a battle over the Auſtrians and Saxons at the gates of Dreſden, he entered that city the 18th of December, and on the 25th ſigned a treaty with the empreſs queen and the elector of Saxony king of Poland, by which Sileſia was again ceded to him; and all that he granted was to acknowledge Francis I. emperour. With the abilities of a general, miniſter, and negotiator, commanding his own armies, managing his finances, concluding his treaties in perſon, capable of foreſeeing the future, and profiting by the preſent, able either to ſlacken or advance his pace, according to the preſent exigency, always proportioning his attempts to his powers, adding the greateſt courage to the moſt profound policy, Frederick III. had ſuch influence in the affairs of Europe, that the loſs of an ally like him muſt neceſſarily be attended with the moſt unhappy conſequences. While he dedicated his time to the cares and ſtudies of peace at Berlin, as relaxations from the fatigues of war, every thing put on a new appearance in Italy.

What influence he neceſſarily had.

1746. Diſaſters in Italy.

Maria Thereſa having no longer any thing to dread from the king of Pruſſia, ſent new troops into that country. By the commands of Elizabeth Farneſe, queen of Spain, the army imprudently remained in the Milaneſe, to take the caſtle of Milan. The mareſchal de Maillebois foretold

foretold that this reſolution would prove fatal; and his prediction was but too fully verified. On the one hand, the king of Sardinia ſurpriſed Aſti, and took ſeven thouſand French priſoners; on the other, count Brown, the Auſtrian general, took Guaſtalla and Parma; and theſe misfortunes were completed by the battle of Placentia, gained by the prince de Lichtenſtein, in which the French and Spaniards loſt more than eight thouſand men killed and wounded, and four thouſand priſoners. There was no other reſource left but in a ſpeedy retreat; and ſuch was the diſpoſition, that it was like a ſecond battle. The king of Sardinia and the Auſtrians warmly attacked the army of the three crowns (for at that time there were ſome Neapolitan troops) near Tidon, without being able to break them; this was at leaſt to retreat with honour; but Placentia opened her gates the next day.

Battle of Placentia.

Retreat and battle.

Of one of the greateſt armies Italy had ever ſeen, there remained only about ſixteen thouſand men, who arrived at Genoa; but were obliged to abandon it, that they might haſten to the defence of Provence and Savoy. Genoa, in conſternation at the approach of the Auſtrian army, ſent four ſenators to receive their orders, and ſubmitted upon the hardeſt conditions.

Genoa ſubmits to the Auſtrians.

The enemy very ſoon marched into Provence, and croſſed the Var; the mareſchal de Maillebois being the leſs able to ſtop their progreſs, as the Spaniards had ſeparated from him that they might guard Savoy, of which they

Invaſion of Provence.

ſtill kept poſſeſſion. One part of Provence became a prey to the enemy; but the mareſchal de Belleiſle found means to ſtop their progreſs till he aſſembled a conſiderable army in the beginning of the year 1747, when he obliged them to retire. The want of proviſions, occaſioned by the recent revolution of Genoa, neceſſarily occaſioned their enterpriſe to prove abortive.

The Genoeſe being oppreſſed, drive out the enemy.

The Auſtrians had taxed Genoa to the amount of twenty four millions, and had already received ſixteen: The bank being exhauſted, they begged for indulgence; but the Auſtrians, ſo far from being ſoftened, likewiſe inſiſted upon the inhabitants furniſhing proviſions for the ſupport of nine regiments, which were quartered in the ſuburbs and villages. To ſuch harſh commands they added the moſt cruel oppreſſions, and treated the people like ſlaves, which inſpired them with the courage dictated by deſpair. While the inhabitants were compelled to drag cannon from the arſenal, an Auſtrian officer having rudely ſtruck one of the Genoeſe, the people, in a fury, inſtantly aſſembled, flew to arms, and in a few days became formidable to the oppreſſors by whom they were deſpiſed. The marquis de Botta, a Milaneſe, the Auſtrian general, inſtead of ſuppreſſing the revolt by force of arms, negotiated with the ſenate, who pretended to diſapprove of what the people had done, but would not arm the troops againſt them, as was required. At laſt, on the 9th of December, 1746, a prince of the family of Doria having put himſelf

ſelf at the head of this multitude, whoſe hopes had been ſecretly encouraged, they ruſhed upon the Auſtrians, and compelled them to fly.

It is not ſurpriſing that the miniſter of the republick, at the court of Vienna, ſhould diſavow this enterpriſe in the name of the ſenate; but it is aſtoniſhing that the court of Vienna ſhould, in ſuch circumſtances, demand that, beſide the eight millions which were ſtill owing, thirty millions ſhould immediately be paid for the injury. She thought herſelf certain of vengeance; but deſpair had revived the hopes of the Genoeſe, to whom both France and Spain ſent ſuccours. The duke de Boufflers, and after him the mareſchal de Richelieu, ſaved this republick, when expoſed to be totally deſtroyed.

Surpriſing conduct of the court of Vienna.

Philip V. a prince who, by his beneficent virtues, deſerved the love of his ſubjects, died at the age of ſixty three. Under him Spain began to recover; ſhe has continued to acquire ſtrength, and to improve under his children; but the inveterate evils of a ſtate are only to be cured by ſlow degrees. Ferdinand VI. who was a child of the firſt marriage, aſcended the throne; and this news was received by the army in Italy, after the unfortunate battle of Placentia. This was one of the chief reaſons which determined the army to retreat, as the danger was preſſing, and don Philip did not know what aſſiſtance he might hope for from the new king his brother.

Conſequences of the death of Philip V.

To examine theſe misfortunes to their firſt ſource, we muſt look back to the unexpected treaty

The misfortunes proceeded from the king of Pruſſia.

treaty concluded between the king of Pruſſia and Maria Thereſa. Thoſe efforts, which the imperialiſts would have been obliged to exert againſt him, they employed in Italy. Intereſt, in general, is the motive for forming alliances; and it is by intereſt they are diſſolved. The prudent politician will calculate to what degree advantages are to be expected from them, and how far they are to be depended upon.

CHAP. VII.

Campaigns of LOUIS XV. *in* 1746 *and* 1747.—*The hereditary Stadtholderſhip reſtored in* HOLLAND.—*Battle of* ASSIITTO.—*Expedition of* CHARLES EDWARD.

Splendid ſucceſs of France in the Low Countries.

WHILE France was ſuffering irreparable misfortunes in Italy, ſhe gained the moſt honourable victories in the Low Countries. Bruſſels was taken in the middle of winter by mareſchal Saxe; and Antwerp afterwards by the king in perſon; Mons, by the prince of Conti; Namur, by the prince de Clermont, &c. Other places were rapidly carried, and the battle of Rocou, which was gained over the enemy near Liege, ſignalized the campaign of 1746. The Auſtrians were ſucceſsful in other countries; but the Engliſh and Dutch, who had the care of theſe provinces, could not ſtop the torrent; they had not now a Marlborough

to

to contend againſt one of the beſt generals that ever commanded the armies of France. The garriſons were made priſoners of war.

Louis XV. though victorious, continued to offer peace, and to ſpare Holland, in hopes of bringing her to his views of pacification; but the only means to determine the Dutch, was to make them tremble for their own country. The conferences which were held at Breda produced no effect. England and Auſtria, either from ambition or animoſity, wanted to prolong the war. Though Holland had greatly decayed, ever ſince other nations carried on their own commerce, ſhe obſtinately perſiſted in the prejudices againſt France, which had been occaſioned by Louis XIV. However, the country was at laſt invaded in 1747. She kept up an apparent neutrality, notwithſtanding ſhe furniſhed the enemy with every kind of ſuccour; and the king declared, that his deſign was not to break with her; that he would only keep her towns as a depoſit, and reſtore them as ſoon as the United Provinces no longer obſtructed the peace by the partiality of their conduct.

Louis XV. at laſt attacks Holland.

The purſuit of an injudicious ſyſtem, which became favourable to the pacifick intentions of the king, coſt them a part of their liberties. The people and the cities, when they ſaw the danger to which they were expoſed, demanded a ſtadtholder; and the States were obliged to reſtore that dignity, which had been aboliſhed ever ſince the death of William III. Henry Friſo, prince of Orange, of the branch of Naſſau Dietz, was not only created ſtadtholder, but

1747. The Stadtholderſhip reſtored,

that

and made hereditary even to the females.

that office was rendered hereditary even in favour of the princeſſes, failing the males of the family. It was fixed, that, with the conſent of the States, the princeſſes ſhould marry princes of the proteſtant religion, being neither kings nor electors; the heireſs to have the title of governeſs; and, in caſe of a war, to propoſe a general agreeable to the republick. During a minority, the princeſs mother to exerciſe the ſame power, by the ſame title, upon condition of not marrying again. By this law, Holland is become a kind of monarchy; where the prince, in ſome reſpects, enjoys a greater authority than the king of England.

Invective of a Dutchman againſt Louis.

If paſſion and prejudice had not had ſuch influence, one of the deputies of the States would not have ventured to ſay, on the day the ſtadtholder was inſtalled, that *the republick wanted a chief, againſt an ambitious, treacherous neighbour, who ſported with the faith of treaties.* To ſpeak in this manner of Louis XV. was to add injuſtice to inſult, and to provoke an eminent revenge, which happily his heart diſdained.

England takes a Ruſſian army into her pay.

England, more exaſperated than Holland, and chiefly irritated by the invaſion of prince Charles Edward, entered into a treaty with the czarina Elizabeth, which was concluded in the month of June. For a ſubſidy of only one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, which was much leſs than the ſum paid annually for the Hanoverian troops, Ruſſia engaged to ſend an army as far as the Low Countries. How amazing the efforts, of which this empire was capable in a ſhort time! But to ſee Ruſſian fleets

fleets at preſent victorious in the Mediterranean, ſeems to efface all other wonders.

Battle of Lawfeldt.

Before theſe new enemies could arrive from ſuch a diſtance, mareſchal Saxe had it in his power to execute ſome very important projects. He propoſed to take Maeſtricht, that he might open the way to Nimeguen ; but this enterpriſe required a battle, and he attacked the allies at Lawfeldt. The king commanded his army in perſon, and the duke of Cumberland that of the enemy, who were defeated, and retired under the walls of Maeſtricht : However, the loſs was nearly equal, being about five thouſand men on each ſide. General Ligonier, a native of France, in the ſervice of England, being carried priſoner to Louis XV.—*Would it not be better*, ſaid the king to him, *to think ſeriouſly of a peace, than to occaſion the deaths of ſo many brave men?* In fact, if human blood was to be eſteemed of any value in the conteſts between ſovereigns and nations, who would not ſhudder at the thoughts of a war prolonged from idle motives ? Here, however, humanity was to be found in the boſom of a victorious king.

Expreſſion worthy of a king.

Siege of Bergen op Zoom.

As the victory was not ſo complete as was neceſſary, to carry into execution the projected enterpriſe, another, of the greateſt conſequence, was formed, and ſiege was laid to Bergen op Zoom. This place, which was exceeding ſtrong, being ſurrounded by a moraſs, and having a communication, by a canal, with the Scheld, near its mouth, was reckoned impregnable ; however, it was taken by count Lowendahl, a native of Denmark, in three weeks after

after the trenches were opened. French valour ſeemed in a manner to have performed impoſſibilities. Seventeen large barks, loaded with ammunition and refreſhments, were found in the port. The Dutch had written in large characters upon the bales—*To the invincible garriſon of Bergen op Zoom.* Holland then began to tremble; but another campaign was neceſſary, to bring the evils of a war to a concluſion.

Battle of Aſſiitto.

Two months before the taking of this place, the bloody battle of Aſſiitto completed the diſaſters which happened in Italy. It was propoſed to return by Exilles, for the preſervation of Genoa; and the count de Belleiſle, brother of the mareſchal, undertook this dangerous expedition. The troops of the king of Sardinia were intrenched in the paſs of Aſſiitto; and, though their breaſtworks were eighteen feet high, defended with paliſades and cannon, they were attacked by the French, whom the Piedmonteſe had nothing to do but to kill for two hours together; and there fell about four thouſand men, among whom were a great number of officers, whoſe bravery could not be too much regretted.

Inſtances of courage.

The death of the marquis de Brienne, who was a colonel, is remarkable. Having loſt one arm—*I have another left*, ſaid he, *for the king's ſervice*, and ruſhed upon his death. Belleiſle, who was wounded in both hands, attempting to tear up the paliſades, was killed, as he indeed wiſhed; for it was a maxim with him, that no general ſhould ſurvive a defeat. He was accuſed by the nation of having the raſhneſs

neſs of a private ſoldier, inſtead of the prudence of a general. We may judge of the attempt from the loſs of the enemy, which, notwithſtanding the valour of the aſſailants, did not exceed a hundred men.

Expedition of Charles Edward into Scotland.

It is now time to give an account of the expedition of Charles Edward, which was, in one ſenſe, more daring, but whoſe firſt ſucceſſes were as ſurpriſing as the cataſtrophe was fatal. That grandſon of James II. having formed the deſign of dethroning king George, embarked, in 1745, on board a privateer, with ſeven officers, twelve hundred ſtand of arms, and a ſmall ſum of money. Some of the heads of *clans* among the Scotch Highlanders received him, and declared in his favour; and he very ſoon had fifteen hundred men under his command, to whom he diſtributed arms. His courage, his example, the fatigues which he underwent at their head, and the life which he led, equally hard with that of his followers, inſpired them with a kind of enthuſiaſm. The king of England was abſent from the kingdom, and almoſt the whole troops of the nation were ſerving abroad. Charles Edward having made himſelf maſter of Perth, marched quickly to Edinburgh, where he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed regent for his father James. A reward of thirty thouſand pounds was promiſed, to whoever would bring him dead or alive; but, on the contrary, in his manifeſtoes he forbid any attempt to be made on the perſon of George II. This contraſt might have gained the hearts of great numbers.

He is proclaimed regent at Edinburgh.

An

He gains a battle.

An Engliſh general having advanced with more than four thouſand men, the prince made haſte to engage them; when his Highlanders, who, though inferiour in number, and ignorant of diſcipline, after having fired their pieces, ruſhed upon the enemy ſword in hand, and gained a complete victory. The king made haſte to return to England, and, dreading a revolution, recalled his troops from the continent; but the aſſiſtance which Charles Edward received from France was inſufficient; he was deſtitute of money, and loſt Edinburgh for want of cannon to reduce the caſtle.

He is defeated without reſource.

Though twice conqueror, he was obliged, in the month of January, 1746, to retire to Inverneſs, to which he was purſued by the duke of Cumberland; and a battle was fought at Culloden the 27th of April, when Charles Edward was defeated, and his whole army routed.

His flight.

Reduced to the neceſſity of concealing himſelf in moraſſes, caverns, and deſerted iſlands, he was expoſed to the greateſt dangers, and ſuffered every imaginable horrour, till he at leaſt arrived at a part of the coaſt where he was waited for by two French frigates. He embarked, and eſcaped from his enemies in the month of September.

Executions.

Some Scotch peers, and a number of other people, were executed. Lord Lovat, an old man of fourſcore, repeated upon the ſcaffold that verſe of Horace—*Dulce et decorum eſt pro patria mori.** A young ſtudent, with the moſt

* What joys, what glories round him wait,
Who bravely for his country dies! FRANCIS.

moſt preſſing earneſtneſs, begged to die in his ſtead.

Such was the concluſion of this enterpriſe, which might have changed the face of affairs in England, if France and Spain had been in a ſituation to have ſupported it with a conſiderable naval force: However, it proved a favourable diverſion for theſe crowns; but it exaſperated the hatred of the Engliſh, and made them purſue the war with greater inveteracy.

CHAP. VIII.

Expeditions by Sea.—ANSON. LA BOURDONNAIE. DU PLEIX.

European colonies a ſource of violence.

THE more that commerce and European eſtabliſhments in America and India are entitled to admiration, from the prodigies of induſtry which they preſent to our attention, the greater have been the calamities they have brought upon commercial nations; ſince war breaks the ties of humanity, which commerce ſhould form among all mankind. When that happens, nations only think of deſtroying themſelves, by ſeeking to ruin one another both at ſea and on ſhore: This wonderful induſtry then becomes an inſtrument of alarms, rapine, and madneſs; the weakeſt are always oppreſſed, and even the ſtrongeſt are great ſufferers.

Superiority of the Engliſh by means of their fleet.

In ſuch circumſtances, nothing can ſupply the want of a fleet; and the Engliſh, in this reſpect,

reſpect, had an infinite advantage, ſince their navy amounted to two hundred and ſixty three ſhips of war, including frigates, bomb ketches, and fireſhips. If the number of ſoldiers correſponded with their ſhipping, or if it were poſſible to arm ſo many ſhips at once, would not ſuch a power cruſh all the reſt? France had only about thirty five ſhips of war; yet ſhe had colonies to defend, a maritime trade to protect, and of courſe much room for apprehenſion.

Anſon's voyage.

We ſhall only point out the moſt remarkable enterpriſes; obſerving, at the ſame time, that the thirſt of gold, from which they proceeded, muſt tarniſh them in the eyes of men of reflection. Commodore Anſon, in 1741, after having burned the town of Paita, on the coaſt of Peru, propoſed to take the galeon which was ſent annually from Mexico to Manilla in the Philippine iſlands. He got before it by way of the pacifick ocean, having only one ſhip left of his ſquadron; he went to refit at China, and having diſcovered the galeon, attacked and took her in the year 1743. With this rich booty he returned to England by the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived in triumph at the capital in 1744, loaded with treaſure, which is ſaid to have amounted to 400,000l. ſterling. His voyage round the world laſted three years and a half; of which we have a curious account, where the Chineſe are treated with great aſperity.

Capture of the Spaniſh galeon.

Prize taken by Captain Talbot.

Can it be believed, that a captain of a privateer, named Talbot, with his ſingle ſhip made prize of two French veſſels, freighted by the

the Spaniards, before the declaration of war between England and France, whoſe cargoes were valued at about twelve hundred thouſand pounds. Each ſailor ſhared eight hundred and fifty guineas; ſo that we may judge of the immenſe booty made by the officers. They who conſider objects in a moral view, will undoubtedly lament the inſatiable avarice which inſpires men with the deſire of ſuch adventures; but, ſince Europeans have been led to the extremities of the earth by avaricious motives, it has been a perpetual ſource of great enterpriſes and great miſchiefs.

The Engliſh already meditated the conqueſt of Canada, and were deſirous to take from France her poſſeſſions in North America. Their colony of Newengland, at its own expenſe, fitted out an armament againſt Cape Breton, a place advantageouſly ſituated for the cod fiſhery; and, with four ſhips of war which were ſent from England, its forces were ſufficient for the enterpriſe. Louiſburg, though unprovided with ammunition, defended itſelf near two months, but was obliged at laſt to ſurrender. Some veſſels richly loaded arrived in that port, without ſuſpecting any danger, and fell into the hands of the enemy; which was another loſs, in 1746, of about a million ſterling. In a ſingle engagement at another place, France loſt two ſhips of war, and thirty ſail of merchantmen. The Engliſh take Louiſburg.

Anſon having been made a vice admiral, defeated the French fleet off Cape Finiſterre. The ſame year, 1747, admirable Hawke gained a ſecond victory; and the French navy was reduced They gain two victories at ſea.

duced to a ſingle ſhip. In theſe actions the French always ſignalized their courage, but againſt ſuch ſuperiour power as could not be reſiſted.

Expedition of Bourdonnaie againſt Madras. 1746.

The French Eaſt India Company, who were always imagined to be more uſeful than they were in fact, had ſhips of war and forces of their own. They carried on war, which was at firſt attended with dazzling ſucceſs. Mahé de la Bourdonnaie, governour of the iſle of Bourbon, undertook the ſiege of Madras on the coaſt of Coromandel, which was the principal Engliſh ſettlement. Having defeated and diſperſed one of their ſquadrons, he forced the town to ſurrender; but, as orders from court forbid the keeping of any conqueſt made in India, he agreed with the inhabitants to ranſom the place for 421,666 l. 13s. 4d.

Du Pleix loſes the fruits of the conqueſt, and perſecutes Bourdonnaie;

Rivalſhip and diſcord have at all times poiſoned the ſources of the publick good. Du Pleix, governour general at Pondicherry, diſapproved of this capitulation; and, having violated it, deſtroyed a part of Madras, ruined the ſettlers, and loſt the fruits of the conqueſt. He cauſed the council of Pondicherry to ſubſcribe violent memorials againſt a man who had done ſuch important ſervice, and diſcharged his duty with honour. La Bourdonnaie, on his return to France, was thrown into the Baſtile, where he remained more than three years; at laſt he was acquitted, but died of a diſorder which he had contracted in priſon.

but he ſaves Pondicherry.

If Du Pleix made himſelf odious by his injuſtice to a deſerving rival, whoſe ſervices entitled

titled him to publick gratitude, he, in other reſpects, by his abilities and labours, merited the eſteem of the nation. In the year 1748 he had the honour of ſaving Pondicherry, which was beſieged both by ſea and land by the Engliſh admiral, Boſcawen. Having received a red riband, he, in ſome degree, reigned in India. He intermeddled in the civil wars between the *nabobs*, vaſſals of the Great Mogul, tyrants contending with one another, like the vaſſals of kings under the feudal government in Europe, and gained ſome provinces. After the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, of which I am going to give an account, he maintained a war againſt the Engliſh, who were enemies of the nabob whom he protected, from policy; but ſuch brilliant ſucceſs, and ſo great power, only terminated in diſgrace. A raſh attempt on Madura ruined him irrecoverably: Being defeated by the Engliſh, he was recalled to France in 1753, when he was obliged to carry on a law ſuit againſt the India company for the wreck of his fortune, and died of vexation.

Enterpriſes of Du Pleix.

Thus Bourdonnaie, Du Pleix, and afterwards the famous count Lally, who was beheaded in 1766, are ſtriking examples of the miſeries which people go in ſearch of to the country of gold and diamonds. The French, perhaps, as well as the Spaniards, have not ſufficiently valued the treaſures which their own country preſented to their induſtry; but let us at leaſt wiſh, ſince luxury has made the commodities of India neceſſary, that commerce may be better directed, and more free; and that a new company,

Misfortunes of ſome Frenchmen in India.

if ever one does exiſt, may not attempt to ſupport the expenſes and carry on the enterpriſes of ſovereignty, which brought on the ruin of the former. The Engliſh and Dutch companies ought not to ſerve as an example to us: From the difference of governments reſult eſſential differences in this department, as well as in ſeveral others.

CHAP. IX.

Siege of MAESTRICHT, *and Peace of* AIX LA CHAPELLE.—*Events poſterior to that Treaty, till the Peace of* 1763.

Obſtinacy of the enemies of France.

THE war which ſprung from the diſputed ſucceſſion of the houſe of Auſtria, had continued an univerſal ſcourge from the year 1741, and the people were exhauſted, becauſe kings thought proper to contend. The Engliſh ſupplies which were granted to the king by the parliament, amounted, in 1747, to nine millions three hundred and twenty thouſand pounds ſterling, which equally ſerves to ſhew the aſtoniſhing reſources of England, and the enormous debt the nation muſt have contracted: However, ſuch is the obſtinacy of national prejudice, that they ſtill wanted to continue the war. Louis XV. by offering peace after every victory, in vain ſhewed a moderation, which the enemy aſcribed either to weakneſs or diſſimulation: He could not accompliſh his purpoſe of giving

giving peace to Europe, but by ſtriking ſome ſtrokes which would make Holland tremble; and mareſchal Saxe, like a good politician, ſaid —*The peace is in Maeſtricht*.

1748. Siege of Maeſtricht brings about a peace.

An army of fourſcore thouſand men, commanded by the duke of Cumberland, obſtructed the ſiege of that town; it was therefore neceſſary to deceive him; this mareſchal Saxe did, by diſplaying the whole ſkill of his profeſſion, of which he had made himſelf a perfect maſter, like a Cæſar or a Turenne, and at laſt the place was inveſted on the fifth of April 1748. Thirty five thouſand Ruſſians were advancing, and had already reached the centre of Germany; but, before they could be of any uſe, Maeſtricht was deſtined to ſubmit. Holland was ſtruck with diſmay, and the enemy at laſt ſued for a peace, which they had ſo often refuſed: Accordingly, the preliminaries were ſigned at Aix la Chapelle the 30th April, and the definitive treaty the 18th October.

Peace of Aix la Chapelle.

Here we have another remarkable proof of the miſchiefs of war. It had been propoſed to diſmember the Auſtrian ſucceſſion in every quarter, and chiefly to procure a conſiderable eſtabliſhment for don Philip in Italy, yet he got nothing but Parma, Placentia, and Guaſtalla, without being able to ſecure the ſucceſſion to the females of his family. Maria Thereſa preſerved the Milaneſe, except ſome diſmemberments ceded to the king of Sardinia, and loſt nothing in Germany but Sileſia and the county of Glatz. In a word, that power which it was intended almoſt to deſtroy, was but flight-

ly injured, and all the reſt joined to guarantee the pragmatick of Charles VI. in the moſt ſolemn manner; that is, the new order of ſucceſſion eſtabliſhed for his deſcendants. The former guarantees could not prevent the war, and the laſt ought to be more effectual in caſes of neceſſity, where neither treaties nor experience have had any permanent influence.

France gives up all her conqueſts.

Louis XV. concluded the peace, *not like a merchant, but a king*, as was ſaid by his plenipotentiary the count de Saint Severin. He abandoned all his conqueſts. His allies, the duke of Modena, ſon in law of the celebrated duke of Orleans, and the republick of Genoa, recovered all their rights and dominions. The kingdom of the Two Sicilies was ſecured to don Carlos. The new order of ſucceſſion to the crown of England was guaranteed to the family of Hanover, and France, as formerly, was obliged not to ſuffer the Stuarts in her dominions. Charles Edward refuſing to retire, it was thought neceſſary to uſe violence; he was therefore arreſted and put in priſon. Fatal unravelling of his adventures! The Engliſh reſtored their conqueſts; and ſome commercial advantages were all the fruits they gathered from their expenſe and obſtinacy.

Few advantages to England.

This treaty was defective.

It is inconceivable that at the concluſion of this war, with a knowledge of the fatal conſequences occaſioned by the defects of former treaties, the moſt prudent meaſures were not taken to obviate ſuch dreadful inconveniences. Politicians are ſometimes, like other people, exceedingly impatient to be freed from the preſent evil,

evil, and think very little of preventing the future. Every thing was done with precipitation; essential things were neglected; and in a degree, the seeds of a new war were sown in the treaty of peace. Few treaties have been more deserving of criticism.

Remarkable fault with regard to Parma.

According to the order of succession established for the kingdom of Naples, don Carlos could leave the crown to one of his sons, in case he succeeded to that of Spain; however, it was supposed in the preliminaries, that in that event don Philip should ascend the throne of Naples. To repair this neglect, it cost France nine millions of livres, which were given to the king of Sardinia, who otherwise must have got Placentia and part of its territories. In 1759 don Carlos (Charles III.) succeeded his brother Ferdinand VI. king of Spain, and left the two Sicilies to one of his sons, Ferdinand IV. To what a state must Parma have been reduced, had it not been for the generosity of Louis XV.!

A greater fault with regard to America.

Besides a number of neglected articles, a fault of the greatest consequence in the negotiations of Aix la Chapelle, was the abandoning to chance, or rather to discord, the rights to the disputed countries in America. The pretensions of the English, who had been in possession of Acadia (Nova Scotia) since the treaty of Utrecht, and inclined to extend their dominion into Canada, were not unknown. Their rapacious and enterprising temper was likewise known; and it ought to have been foreseen, that if the boundaries were not properly fixed, they would furnish a thousand pretences for a rupture.

rupture. But far from fixing the limits, it was ſtipulated that *all things ſhould be replaced on the footing they were, or ought to have been, before the preſent war.* What advantage might not be taken from theſe words, *or ought to have been,* by people who wanted to encroach upon their neighbours ! The deſerts of North America, ſo little known in Europe, and apparently of ſo little conſequence, by this means became a nurſery of diſcord and hoſtilities.

Origin of the war of 1755.

In fact, from the year 1749, the court of France had reaſon for complaint againſt that of London, on account of attempts the Engliſh had already made by force of arms, for it was by this means they wanted to ſettle things again *on the footing they ought to have been.* The negotiations were long and fruitleſs; and the more Louis was deſirous of peace, the more was the Engliſh nation anxious for war. Before there was an open rupture, the court of London cauſed the French ſhips bound to Canada to be attacked; and the outrage was carried to ſuch a degree, that the moſt pacifick of kings was obliged to take up arms. The Engliſh miniſtry had changed their ſyſtem; and inſtead of exhauſting themſelves in the diſputes of others upon the continent of Europe, they reſolved to employ their maritime power in making conqueſts in countries which culture and induſtry might render exceedingly flouriſhing.

Sketch of that fatal and inconceivable war.

Such was the origin of the war of 1755, a war which produced events almoſt incredible; in which France ſunk from glory to the loweſt humiliation; conquering at firſt the iſland of Minorca

Minorca and the electorate of Hanover, and afterwards losing her settlements in Asia, Africa, and America; victorious in her first engagements, and then defeated when she seemed most certain of victory. The astonishing alliance of the king of Prussia with England extinguished the long enmity between the houses of France and Austria, and united them as closely as they had been cruelly armed against each other for more than two centuries. The unconquerable Frederick, by an invasion of Saxony, prevented the designs which he imagined were formed against him, and kindled a war, of which in all appearance he must necessarily fall the victim; when he had France, Sweden, Russia, Austria, and a great part of the empire against him, and found in himself, in his abilities, courage, economy, and activity, such resources as were in no other power. He was on the point of being totally ruined, after an entire defeat at Prague in 1757; yet that same year he defeated the French and imperialists at Rosbach, immediately after gained the victory of Lissa, and again became formidable at the very instant when he less thought of conquering than dying with honour. The *family compact* strengthened the ties of nature, by uniting all the branches of the house of Bourbon; the new king of Spain, Charles III. abandoned the system of neutrality, which had been adopted by his brother Ferdinand VI. and the English triumphed over Spain, as they had done over France, taking from her the Havanna in the isle of Cuba,

Succes of the king of Prussia.

Family compact.

in

in the ſea of Mexico; Manilla and the Philippines in the Eaſt Indies, with the immenſe riches of theſe colonies, which a weak navy could not defend againſt the lords of the ſea.

Peace of 1763.

After ſeven years of deſtruction in every quarter of the globe, the war was brought to an end in 1763, by the treaties of Paris and Huberſburg, in a manner the moſt glorious for the enemies of the houſes of France and Auſtria. On the one hand, the dominions of Pruſſia were nothing impaired; on the other, England gained about two thouſand leagues of country in North America, reaching from the river Saint Laurence to the Miſſiſippi; and the fortifications of Dunkirk towards the ſea were again to be demoliſhed.

Obſervations on the Engliſh conqueſts in North America.

There is no doubt but Canada, and other parts of North America, which were of little advantage to France and Spain, may be of very great conſequence to England. Her colonies proſper in the boſom of liberty; they are governed by their own laws, and they tax themſelves, agriculture inceſſantly multiplying their reſources: Though the mother country in ſome reſpects reſtrains their commerce, the encouragements and aſſiſtance which they receive make an advantageous compenſation. The population of the Engliſh colonies ſufficiently proves how flouriſhing they are, and how formidable they may become. It ſeems that Great Britain threatens to ſwallow up all America; but has it not always been obſerved, that a vaſt increaſe of power preſaged a fall: And if the colonies,

colonies, becoming too powerful, detach themſelves from the mother country, as is probable, ought ſuch conqueſts greatly to flatter ambition?

Misfortunes of the war.

I ſhall conclude with the words of a celebrated hiſtorian, who has been better informed than any other of modern times. "*France loſt, in the courſe of this fatal war, the flower of her youth, more than half the current coin which circulated in the kingdom, her fleet, her commerce, and her credit. It was believed that it would have been eaſy to have prevented ſo many misfortunes by accommodating matters with England, for a ſmall diſputed territory in the neighbourhood of Canada; but ſome ambitious perſons, to gain importance, and render themſelves neceſſary, precipitated France into this fatal war: The ſame thing happened in* 1741, *when the vanity of two or three people was ſufficient to ſpread deſolation through Europe. France was in ſuch preſſing neceſſity for this peace, that they who concluded it were regarded as the greateſt benefactors of their country; and the debts with which the nation was overwhelmed were ſtill greater than thoſe of Louis XIV. The expenſe of the extraordinaries only in this war amounted, in one year, to four hundred millions of livres, and by that we may judge of the reſt. France muſt have been a great loſer, even if ſhe had proved victorious.*" (Precis de Siecle de Louis XV.)

To

Other misfortunes of ſociety during this century.

To the dreadful ſcourge of war let us add thoſe of nature, of inteſtine diſcords, and prevailing vices : Earthquakes, which deſtroyed opulent cities, Lima in 1746, and Liſbon in 1755; wretchedneſs, by which countries are depopulated, and agriculture cramped ; luxury, enriching frivolous talents, and wreſting bread from the hands of uſeful induſtry ; an unbridled deſire of wealth and pleaſure, which ſtifles even the principles of morality in the multitude, and carries corruption or deſpondency into the hearts of the virtuous ; a paſſion for ſhining, which almoſt totally prevents men from making themſelves really eſtimable ; religious diſſenſions, which, though on the decline, ſtill leave a leaven of civil diſcord ; conflicts of authority, which propagate a gloomy diſquiet, and increaſe the dangerous diſorders of the body politick ; irreligion carried to ſuch an extreme, as to extinguiſh the idea of a God, and annihilate the fundamental principles of virtue. At ſuch a view, we ſhould be tempted to believe that the progreſs of reaſon, which is evident in every thing, is but an indifferent advantage for the human race.

But reaſon has delivered us from greater evils.

But, if we look back to the ancient ages, thoſe times when ferocious manners ſcarcely left any veſtiges of humanity ; where ſavage, yet vicious nature, ruſhed headlong into all ſorts of crimes ; where only mercileſs tyrants and ſtupid ſlaves were to be ſeen ; where entire nations were governed by monſtrous prejudices; where a ſanguinary anarchy erected the right of the ſtrongeſt into the only law ; where ſuperſtition, ſo

ſo deſtructive of itſelf, kindled the rage of fanaticiſm; where civil wars continually renewed the maſſacres of the people; in a word, where there was nothing to be met but ſtupidity, blindneſs, injuſtice, barbarity, oppreſſion, the blackeſt crimes and ſevereſt calamities; we ſhall then be ſenſible of the value of the arts and ſciences, ſocial manners, and beneficent, though imperfect laws, which are enjoyed by a great part of Europe; and confeſs, that amidſt great abuſes and great vices, reaſon brought to the higheſt pitch of improvement opens the way for prudence and happineſs, and at leaſt ſoftens the calamities of life.

Rivalſhip in France and England, in learning and the ſciences.

It would perhaps be proper, in this place, to follow the progreſs of the human mind during the epocha of Louis XIV. to remark the advancement it has made, eſpecially in the purſuit of learning and the ſciences; but to do that, it would be neceſſary to exceed the bounds of this work, or to give only very imperfect obſervations on ſubjects already well known. I ſhall content myſelf with remarking, that the rivalſhip of France and England is not leſs keen in this reſpect, than in whatever belongs to their political intereſts. The Engliſh have, from the firſt, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a depth of genius in the culture of the ſciences, which can never be diſputed with them; the French have diſplayed, in the belles lettres, the agreeable or ſublime talents, thoſe graces and that taſte by which they are characteriſed. The former have afterwards diſplayed the brighteſt charms of poetry, imagination, elegance, and true beauty,

ty, united to the treaſures of knowledge and reaſon; the latter have contended with them in their turn, and not without ſucceſs, by a ſtrength of genius capable of penetrating whatever is within the reach of the human underſtanding. If the firſt are ſuperiour from a connected train of thought and a ſteady perſeverance, in which they are favoured by the national character, the ſecond perhaps excel in a delicacy of feeling, a juſtneſs of method and clearneſs of ſtyle, which even their rivals ſometimes acknowledge by imitating them. In a word, I may venture to ſay, they ſhare between them the glory of furniſhing models for all Europe, and inſtructing it in whatever is worthy the attention of mankind.

OF

OF THE STATE AND PRINCIPAL REVOLUTIONS OF ASIA, IN THE LAST AGES.

[The Hiſtory of modern Aſia is only a Subject for the Study of the Learned, while that of Europe, ſo extenſive and neceſſary, contains all Kinds of Inſtruction; and we may, without Regret, be ſatisfied to remain in Ignorance of that with which we are not ſo intimately concerned. However, it is of Conſequence to have ſome general Idea of thoſe Nations that were firſt civilized, as an eſſential Part of the Knowledge of the human Race; and we ſhall endeavour to collect, in a ſmall Space, the Objects of ſo uſeful a Curioſity.]

CHAP. I.

CHINA.

Antiquity of the Chineſe empire.

THAT the Chineſe empire has, or has not been eſtabliſhed above four thouſand years, is an hiſtorical problem, ſubject to a number of difficulties, whichſoever opinion we chooſe

chooſe to adopt. This prodigious antiquity, which, according to ſome celebrated writers, has been confirmed by unqueſtioned aſtronomical obſervations, is combated by other learned men who ſeem to have ſtudied the matter very deeply, or at leaſt to have judged without prejudice. The fables with which the ancient Chineſe annals are overſpread, muſt undoubtedly very much weaken all the proofs which are brought of their authenticity; and when falſehood predominates, how ſhall we diſtinguiſh truth with certainty? It is no leſs certain that China, a number of ages before our era, was a powerful civilized ſtate, governed as it is at preſent, having good laws, and more particularly an excellent ſyſtem of morality. Confucius, that philoſophick legiſlator, was born about five hundred and fifty years before Jeſus Chriſt, about the time of the death of Solon; and nothing in the world, at ſo early a period, equalled the greatneſs of the Chineſe empire.

Frequent revolutions, according to Monteſquieu, a proof of deſpotiſm.

Twenty two dynaſties have been reckoned who reigned ſucceſſively in China; may we not conclude then, with Monteſquieu, that ſuch a government muſt be deſpotick? Is a true monarchy tempered by laws ſubject to ſo many violent revolutions? The dynaſties in general have begun well, and ended badly. "*It was natural* "*for emperours brought up in the toils of war,* "*who dethroned a family immerſed in delights, to* "*preſerve that virtue of which they experienced* "*the advantage, and dread thoſe pleaſures they* "*had ſeen ſo deſtructive; but after the reigns of* "*the three or four firſt princes, corruption, lux-*

"*ury,*

" *ury, idleneſs, and voluptuouſneſs captivated their* " *ſucceſſors; they ſhut themſelves up in their pal-* " *aces, their minds became enervated, their lives* " *were abridged, and their families declined; the* " *nobles raiſed themſelves, the eunuchs acquired* " *influence; none but children were placed up-* " *on the throne; the palace became inimical to* " *the empire, and the idle part of the inhabitants* " *ruined the induſtrious; the emperour was killed* " *or dethroned by an uſurper, who founded a new* " *family, whoſe third or fourth ſucceſſor ſhut him-* " *ſelf up likewiſe in the ſame palace.*" (Eſprit des Lois, livre vii. chap. 7.) This picture ſeems to be drawn after nature.

Contrary opinion to that of Monteſquieu.

M. de Voltaire judges quite differently. He ſees nothing more prudent than the Chineſe government, where the affairs of the empire are examined and regulated by great tribunals; where the prince is obliged to conſult men of learning, who have been promoted becauſe of their meirit. In a word, the idea of deſpotiſm, which he does not even allow to exiſt in Turky, appears to him abſurd in China. The oppoſition of opinions between two men of ſuperiour genius, upon a fact of this nature, ſhould make us ſenſible how limited is human capacity. Yet there are people who pretend to clear up the obſcurity of ancient hiſtory; and, upon ſome dark and unconnected paſſages, venture to raiſe ſyſtems.

True ſtate of the queſtion.

Perhaps, however, the diſpute turns rather upon words than upon things. Undoubtedly, that pure deſpotiſm by which an individual ſhall be maſter of the lives and properties of all the reſt,

reſt, no where exiſts, and cannot be exerciſed in a great empire, where the laws and manners obſtruct it by a permanent barrier. But does the will of the prince overpower the authority of the laws? Do fear and violence, or rather the capricious orders of a court, prove the moſt effectual ſpring of government? That is the point to which the queſtion ſhould be reduced; and then there ſeem to be known facts ſufficient to decide, which are taken from Jeſuit miſſionaries, great admirers of a government ſo conſonant to their principles of obedience.

Fear the ſpring of the Chineſe government.

The moſt profound reſpect for paternal authority is the baſis, and the emperour is revered as the common father of the empire. Happy the ſubjects, when they worthily ſupport ſo honourable a title! But that father who is almoſt worſhipped as a God, and whoſe ordinances the people dare not examine, by that means naturally becomes a deſpot. If he pleaſes, nothing can reſiſt him; every thing bends, every thing ſubmits. Favourites and eunuchs may, in his name, annul the moſt equitable decrees, commit and render ſacred the moſt crying acts of injuſtice. Fear, rather than filial love, regulates the obedience of the mandarins and people. An expreſſion of F. du Halde ſays every thing —*It is by the cudgel that China is governed.*

Defences againſt deſpotiſm.

If the Chineſe in general do not feel the ſcourges of deſpotiſm, is it not becauſe the intereſt of the ſovereign ſerves for a protection? Is it not that the manners, the cuſtoms, the invariable ceremonies, which, by their perpetual duration, have become a ſecond nature to that great

great people, render the exerciſe of tyranny equally difficult and dangerous? Do not the principles and opinions which have taken firm root over the whole empire, to a certain degree, check the moſt abſolute power? There is reaſon to believe that the Chineſe are content with their lot; and it is likewiſe probable, that the ſame government would have a contrary effect in another country.

Tribunal of hiſtory.

If an emperour have but the ſmalleſt ſhare of ſentiment, the tribunal of hiſtory is extremely well calculated to moderate his paſſions. The mandarins, of whom this tribunal is compoſed, every one apart keeps an exact regiſter of all that he either does or ſays, that is remarkable, or of importance to the good of the ſtate. They throw their papers ſigned into a kind of cheſt, which is never opened till after the reigning dynaſty is extinct. Theſe are the materials for the hiſtory of the current reign. Nothing can make the mandarins, who have the charge of ſuch an honourable employment, betray the truth. Undoubtedly the inſtitution is excellent; but wherefore wait the end of a dynaſty? A late publication is infinitely leſs capable of encouraging virtue, or deterring vice. It may be reaſonably ſuſpected that deſpotiſm has corrupted this admirable eſtabliſhment.

China twice conquered.

The famous wall, which extended five hundred leagues, forty five feet high, eighteen feet thick, which was conſtructed before our era, to protect them from the invaſion of the Tartars, has not prevented China from being twice conquered; the firſt time, in the thirteenth century,

by Jenghiz Kan and his ſons; and afterwards in the ſeventeenth; which laſt is the only revolution that I have occaſion to mention in this place.

Invaſion of the Mantchew Tartars.

Some violences committed againſt the Mantchew Tartars provoked that free and warlike people, who revenged their quarrel by taking up arms. Hardened to every kind of fatigue, dreading nothing, and contemning death, they had as great a ſuperiority over the Chineſe in war, as the Chineſe had over them in civilization. The northern provinces were conquered, while a revolted mandarin made himſelf maſter of the ſouthern. In 1641, that victorious mandarin took poſſeſſion of Pekin, the capital of the empire; an immenſe city, which is ſaid to contain two millions of inhabitants. Such was the weakneſs and cowardice of the emperour, that he did not attempt to defend himſelf. The empreſs hanged herſelf: Forty wives, which he had ſtill remaining, hanged themſelves by his orders, or at leaſt by his invitation: His daughter refuſing to imitate them, he killed her with a ſtroke of his ſabre; but he did not ſtrangle himſelf till he had waited without the city for the laſt news of inevitable deſtruction.

Revolt of a mandarin.

Cruelties in the palace.

The Tartars eſtabliſh themſelves in China.

Taitſong, chief of the Tartars, a man of ſufficient greatneſs of mind to make his countrymen ſubmit to law, continued to proſecute his conqueſts. Under the minority of Changti, his nephew, who ſucceeded him, the mandarin uſurper was killed, and the conquerors ſubdued almoſt the whole empire. At laſt their dominion was ſolidly eſtabliſhed under Kamhi, who

who was ſtill very young when he ſucceeded his father Changti. After a war of about thirty years, all China remained under the dominion of a barbarous people, but who were as prudent as they were terrible, ſince they adopted the laws and cuſtoms of the country.

Progreſs of the miſſionaries under Kamhi.

Kamhi, whoſe reign began in 1661, cultivated the ſciences, and favoured the Jeſuit miſſionaries, who, by their means, were introduced into the imperial palace. Then chriſtianity made ſome progreſs in the empire; but the rivalſhips and diſputes between the Jeſuits and other miſſionaries; the accuſations of idolatry, which were carried to Rome on the ſubject of the Chineſe rites; the contentious temper of the Europeans, who breathed a ſpirit of diſcord into that pacifick people; but, more particularly, the dread of their ambitious enterpriſes, ſo frequently concealed under the maſk of religion; contributed totally to overthrow all the effects of their zeal and their preachings.

Chriſtianity proſcribed in 1722.

Yontching, who ſucceeded Kamhi in 1722, aboliſhed the laws which were made by his father in favour of chriſtianity. He cauſed their churches to be thrown down, and thoſe people, who were only miſſionaries, to be ſent out of the empire; while he kept the mathematicians, the learned, and the artiſts, of whoſe value he was not ignorant. "If I was to ſend a number of "bonzes and lamas (monks and prieſts of "China) into your country," ſaid he to the Jeſuits, "how would you receive them? You "want that all the Chineſe ſhould become "chriſtians; your law requires it, I know it;

" but, in that caſe, what would become of us ?
" We ſhould be the ſubjects of your kings ;
" your diſciples acknowledge only you, and,
" in a time of trouble, would hearken to no
" other voice but yours. I know there is
" nothing to be dreaded at preſent ; but, when
" your ſhips come in thouſands, diſorders may
" ariſe." (*Vid. Lettres Edif.* f. 17.) What happened at Japan, which we ſhall very ſoon have occaſion to mention, gave weight to this diſcourſe.

Zeal for agriculture.

We ſhall here add a few intereſting remarks. The empire of China compriſes about ſix hundred leagues in length, and as many in breadth, and contains an infinite number of people : Conſequently agriculture is there in the greateſt degree of perfection, and in all times the prince has made it his duty to honour and encourage it. The annual ceremony when he ſets the example of tillage is well known, and it is obſerved with the ſame attention in the provinces by the mandarins. There is an imperial ordinance, which bears—*It was a maxim of our anceſtors, that if any man did not employ himſelf in labour, or a woman in ſpinning, ſome perſon muſt ſuffer cold or hunger in the empire.* The author of the ordinance builds upon this maxim the neceſſity of deſtroying the monaſteries of the bonzes. If he has, in fact, deſtroyed them, ſuperſtition has ſince gained a great triumph over the legiſlator.

Remarkable ordinance.

Produce of the lands.

The Chineſe keep no animals but what are abſolutely neceſſary, becauſe they have not more than ſufficient for the maintenance of the people.

When

When they travel they are carried by men; and the canals ſerve for tranſporting merchandiſe. Whatever can be of uſe for the manuring of land, even urine, is carefully preſerved. According to M. Poivre, in the ſouthern provinces they make three harveſts of rice in the year, and the land every time yields more than a hundred for one, without ever lying fallow. The poor live only upon rice, work almoſt naked, or clothed in cotton. An arpent*, perhaps, produces cotton ſufficient to clothe five hundred people; ſo that the maintenance of the poor is eaſy, in every reſpect. A tenth of the produce of the lands, which is more or leſs according to the ſoil, makes the prodigious revenue of the emperour; it is the ſole tax, and paid in kind to magiſtrates, who have the direction of it. A part remains in ſtore for the neceſſities of the publick. However, if a year of ſcarcity happens, ſo numerous are the people, they die by thouſands. What would be their ſituation under a government leſs mild, and leſs provident? (See *Voyages d'un Philoſophe.)*

Subſiſtence.

The tenths the only tax.

However extraordinary the contraſt may appear between the knavery and the ſyſtem of morality among the Chineſe, the author of *The Spirit of Laws* undertakes to account for it from the nature of things. "*When all the people* "*obey, and are all diligent, the ſtate is in a hap-* "*py ſituation. It is neceſſity, and perhaps the* "*nature of the climate, which has inſpired the* "*Chineſe with an inconceivable avidity of gain,* "*and no laws have been made to ſtop its progreſs.*

Chineſe knavery accounted for by Monteſquieu.

"*Every*

* An arpent is a hundred perches.

" *Every attempt to acquire by violence has been* " *prohibited; but there is no interruption to the* " *acquiſitions of artifice or induſtry. Let us not* " *then compare the morals of the Chineſe with thoſe* " *of Europe. Every perſon in China muſt be at-* " *tentive to whatever is an advantage to him: If* " *the knave is watchful over his intereſt, the dupe* " *ought to be equally attentive. At Lacedemon,* " *it was lawful to ſteal; in China, it is lawful to* " *cheat.*" (L. xiv. ch. 20.) That neceſſity may inſpire the deſire of cheating, is eaſy to be conceived; but that knavery ſhould be agreeable to that moral ſyſtem ſo celebrated in China, is not credible. There is frequently an infinite difference between the legiſlation which permits or tolerates, and the moral ſyſtem which approves. The example of Lacedemon is ill applied.

Exceſſive population.

We muſt conclude, that exceſſive population brings great inconveniences: It even obliges the people of China to expoſe their children, and ſell their daughters; it cauſes diſtruſt in commerce, ſince it occaſions knavery. Do they not find the good mixed with the bad? The

Great art of legiſlation.

maſterpiece of legiſlation in this vaſt empire, is the having made proviſion for maintaining the interiour tranquillity, notwithſtanding the incredible multitude of inhabitants; and the activity with which they carry on their labours, notwithſtanding the heat of a climate which inſpires effeminacy.

The Chineſe little acquainted

It is univerſally known, that the ſtudy of the language and the Chineſe characters employing almoſt the whole life of the literati, is an invincible

vincible obſtacle to the progreſs of knowledge, independent of national prejudices, and the abſolute empire of opinion or cuſtoms. But the Chineſe have had the good ſenſe to attach themſelves to eſſentials, to a judicious, beneficent ſyſtem of morality, which, with few precepts and much practice, prevents irregularities, unites all the members of the community by mutual conſiderations, and in the boſom of peace perpetuates the proſperity of the ſtate. A people who are thus governed by morals, whatever faults they may have, will always be much happier than nations who are refined by taſte, and governed by faſhion.

with ſcience, but much with morals.

CHAP. II.

JAPAN.

THE empire of Japan is formed of a number of iſlands, which are ſituated to the eaſt of China. The Japaneſe have never been ſubdued. Fierce, bold, unconquerable, of a diſpoſition ſo atrocious as even to make a ſport of ſuicide, yet they obey the moſt tyrannical laws, and of courſe ſuch as are moſt capable of irritating that ferocity of manners. About ſix hundred and ſixty years before the chriſtian era, they had a pontiff for emperour, whom they called *Dairi* or *Dairo*. About the end of the ſixteenth century, the dairis experienced the ſame revolution as the califs, who were the ſucceſſors

Character of the Japaneſe.

Pontifical government deſtroyed.

ſucceſſors of Mahomet. The general of the forces has ſeized the real power, leaving to him only a pompous title, his women, riches, and luxury, which he enjoys at Meaco. The religious ceremonies give little diſturbance to government.

Religious toleration.

One thing very remarkable in Japan, China, and almoſt all over Aſia, is the toleration granted to the different modes of worſhip, which at firſt facilitated the eſtabliſhment and progreſs of chriſtianity. If the true religion alone was afterwards excluded from thoſe advantages which were enjoyed by ſo many abſurd ſects, the ambitious projects of the Europeans, and the faults of a number of the miſſionaries, are the true cauſe.

Chriſtianity introduced into Japan by the Portugueſe.

Japan was diſcovered, about the middle of the ſixteenth century, by the Portugueſe, who carried on a conſiderable commerce with that people. Gold and ſilver mines, tea, porcelain, &c. attracted them to this country, from whence they brought immenſe treaſures. Saint Francis Xavier, a Jeſuit of their nation, was induced, by his apoſtolical zeal, to go to that country: and, being a man of reſolution, ability, and indefatigable perſeverance, deſirous only of making converſions, and ambitious of gaining the crown of martyrdom, his zeal was attended with moſt remarkable ſucceſs; which, in ſome degree, may be aſcribed to the conformity of his auſtere virtue, and the hopes he gave of a bleſſed life, with the ſituation and manners of the Japaneſe. Miſſionaries flocked thither, and the chriſtian

chriſtian faith ſtruck roots which were equally vigorous and extenſive.

It is eaſy to judge of the rage of the bonzes. Kaempfer, a Dutch traveller of ſingular merit, repreſents them as ſelfiſh fanaticks, ſlaves of ſuperſtition, by which they governed the people; affecting a dreadful auſterity, and accumulating riches; preaching up morality, and the end of the world; but always concluding by ſaying, that the beſt means to prevail with the gods, is to ornament the temples, and enrich the monaſteries; in a word, by abuſing the credulity of the people to ſuch a degree, as to ſell to them the merit of their good works; and even for their money giving them bills of exchange payable in the next world. Theſe bonzes, who are exceſſively numerous, were the moſt formidable enemies of a religion which unmaſked their impoſtures; but the contempt and hatred which they deſerved did not a little contribute to increaſe the number of adherents of the new doctrine. All ſuperſtitions whoſe miniſters are decried, are expoſed to great hazards.

The bonzes decried.

In 1585, Gregory XIII. received an embaſſy from three Japaneſe princes, which afforded a matter of triumph to the Romiſh church and the Jeſuits. The emperour, however, about the ſame time, diſturbed the progreſs of chriſtianity, and, dreading leſt it ſhould occaſion ſome commotions in the ſtate, or a foreign invaſion, prohibited the exerciſe of that religion, under pain of death. From that time puniſhments began, martyrdom was courted, the miſſionaries became more zealous, and the proſelytes more numerous.

Japaneſe embaſſy at Rome.

The chriſtians perſecuted.

Perſecu-

Conſpiracy diſcovered by the Dutch.

Perſecution continued a long time, then abated, and by intervals was again revived. The Portugueſe and Spaniards, governed by the ſame king ſince the reign of Philip II. continued their commerce to that country, and new preachers could arrive in crowds; but the jealouſy of the Dutch ruined all their hopes. In 1637, they diſcovered a conſpiracy of the Spaniards to the emperour, and proved it by letters, which they ſaid they had taken on board a ſhip. The Spaniards exclaimed againſt the unjuſt accuſation; but the revolt of the Japaneſe chriſtians of Arima, who took up arms, to the amount of thirty thouſand, leaves little room to doubt of the reality of the enterpriſe: It was but too conformable to the principles of ſo many conqueſts, or rather uſurpations, exerciſed in both hemiſpheres.

Edict againſt the chriſtians.

This was the origin of the famous edict by which all ſtrangers, even the Chineſe, are abſolutely prohibited from entering Japan, and all the Japaneſe forbidden to depart from it under pain of death. The ſame edict condemns every chriſtian to be put in priſon, and promiſes a conſiderable reward to whoever ſhall diſcover a chriſtian prieſt.

How the Dutch go to Japan.

The only favour which the Dutch obtained was the liberty of landing on an iſland near Nangazaki, by ſwearing that they were not of the ſame religion with the Portugueſe, and to prove it, as is ſaid, by treading upon the croſs. To this place they carry their merchandiſe, upon which they put a price; and if they have the honour of being taken to court, it is ſtill a certain humiliation, ſince their guard never loſes ſight of them, and is obliged by oath

to

to give an account of their proceedings. The avidity of commerce makes theſe rich republicans, the ſovereigns of Batavia, ſubmit to ſuch diſgraceful treatment: Undoubtedly they derive conſiderable profits from that trade.

No religious diſputes in the empire.

Notwithſtanding the multitude of ſects eſtabliſhed in Japan, there have never been, according to Kaempfer, any religious diſputes; which is a proof that chriſtianity would not have been perſecuted and deſtroyed, but from a dread of a revolution in the ſtate. Neither the Japaneſe nor Chineſe would have treated the chriſtians with ſeverity, if it had not been for the quarrels, cabals, and intereſted views which very ſoon mingled with the ſanctity of the Goſpel. To convert the people, is it neceſſary to diſturb and alarm the government? Divine wiſdom teaches the contrary; but unfortunately almoſt all the miſſions have terminated in that manner.

Religious practices reſembling ours.

One particular worthy the attention of hiſtory is, the reſemblance of a number of the religious practices among the Japaneſe with ours: Such as a hierarchy, a kind of canonizations, proceſſions and pilgrimages, penances and monaſtick auſterities, lamps and candles in the temples, a ſort of chaplet for prayers, bells, which are rung at fixed hours for that purpoſe, &c. And what appears ſtill more extraordinary, the ſign of the croſs is in uſe in that country, which is made in the form of a ſaint Andrew's croſs, or ſaltier. A number of other examples, in all parts of the world, prove that among the moſt diſtant nations, and the moſt oppoſite in their nature, chance, or rather the turn of the human mind has produced extra-

ordinary

ordinary conformities both in ideas and cuſtoms, eſpecially in their forms of worſhip. But where, out of chriſtianity, ſhall we find that ſublime and affecting idea of the Supreme Being; that ſyſtem of morality, equally ſimple and perfect, which can raiſe one of the vulgar to the higheſt pitch of wiſdom?

CHAP. III.

PERSIA *and the* MOGUL'S *Empire.*

Perſia under Sha Abbas.

IN the time of Chardin, a celebrated traveller, who died in 1713, Perſia was ſtill a flouriſhing empire, at leaſt if a judgment might be formed from the magnificence of the court, and the populouſneſs of the great towns, which are ſometimes deceitful proofs. Iſpahan, the capital, might be compared to London; Tauris and Cachan were conſiderable commercial cities. Sha Abbas, a cruel, but bold and politick prince, had deprived the Turks of their conqueſts in Perſia, driven the Portugueſe from Ormus, aboliſhed a militia, ſimilar to that of the Janiſaries and Strelitz, and by that means made himſelf more abſolute. We may every where obſerve, ſays M. de Voltaire, troops, when divided into a number of ſmall bodies, ſecuring the throne, and when united into great bodies, diſpoſing and overturning it. That prince died in 1629.

The kingdom weakened by deſpots.

The ſophys, or kings, who ſucceeded him, were deſpots without vigour, ſtupified by the effeminacy

effeminacy of the ſeraglio, and governed by eunuchs, to whom they abandoned the empire. From thence, as has always been the caſe, proceeded misfortunes, diſtreſs, and revolutions. The Turks took Bagdad by aſſault in 1638. The Afgans, a Tartar colony, ſettled in the mountains of Candahar, towards the dominions of the Mogul, revolted againſt a cowardly, cruel government; and their example was followed by the northern provinces. The ſophy was beſieged in his capital in the year 1722, when he ſubmitted to the chief of the rebels, to whom he gave his daughter in marriage.

Sha Nadir, or Thamas Kouli Kan.

While Perſia was a victim to the barbarities of an uſurper, and the Turks on one hand, and the Ruſſians on the other, took advantage of her ſituation to tear her in pieces, appeared the celebrated Nadir, or Thamas Kouli Kan,* the ſon of a ſhepherd, a ſhepherd himſelf, (for the paſtoral life is ſtill common in ſome countries of Aſia) who ventured to attempt, and brought about, a revolution. Having aſſembled a troop of banditti, he proffered his ſervices to prince Thamas the ſon of the laſt ſophy, and very ſoon collected an army; when Iſpahan and all Perſia were obliged to ſubmit to him. The uſurper being defeated and taken priſoner, was condemned to loſe his head; and Kouli Kan, who only fought to raiſe a fortune for himſelf, after having affected the title of ſlave to the prince, alone reaped the fruit of all his victories.

His uſurpation.

He

* That is to ſay, *Kan the ſlave of Thamas.* He took that title before he unmaſked his ambition.

He cauſed the eyes of Thamas to be put out, and in the year 1736 became king of Perſia, by the name of Sha Nadir. The Turks having been frequently defeated, concluded a treaty with him, by which they reſtored all their conqueſts except Bagdad.—Avarice and ambition are equally inſatiable. A ſhepherd, the conqueror of Perſia, extends his wiſhes to the poſſeſſions of the Mogul, wants to reduce them under his dominion, ſeizes his treaſures, and carries war into his country.

The empire of the Mogul.

The empire of the Mogul, which derives its name from the Tartars of Jenghiz Kan, comprehends a great part of India, the richeſt country of the univerſe, whether we conſider the valuable and inexhauſtible productions of nature, or the immenſe ſums ſquandered by the Europeans to gratify their luxury. It is in that country chiefly where a deſpot ſunk in voluptuouſneſs reigns over a herd of ſlaves, degraded below the dignity of human nature; and each of his vaſſals, or governours of provinces, is a tyrant, who devours the ſubſtance of the people. The leſs theſe tyrants are acquainted with law, the more the country is expoſed to bloody revolutions.

Aurengzebe, his power and riches.

About the middle of the laſt century, Aurengzebe, one of the ſons of the Great Mogul, dethroned his father, aſſaſſinated his three brothers, who were accomplices and inſtruments of his revolt, and ſubdued ſeveral countries on the weſtern peninſula of India, on this ſide the Ganges. We are ſtruck with ſurpriſe in reading the deſcription which Tavernier gives of his throne, where twelve pillars of gold, enriched with

with large pearls, ſupport a canopy ſtudded with jewels; upon the ſummit of which ſtands a peacock, whoſe tail is formed of diamonds, and whatever is rich or precious in the world. With this pompous opulence, and the effeminate manners which it inſpires, they muſt be little capable of contending againſt enemies accuſtomed to the trade of war.

Kouli Kan ſubdues the Mogul.

Sha Nadir, better known by the name of Thamas Kouli Kan, under which he at firſt concealed his ambition, attacked the grandſon of Aurengzebe, and, though he had only a very ſmall army in compariſon of that of the Mogul, reduced him to ſurrender himſelf into his hands. He very ſoon was maſter of Delhi, the capital of the empire; plundered the treaſure, which was valued at above one hundred and ſixty ſix millions ſterling; united three kingdoms of Indoſtan to Perſia, and impoſed a tribute upon the reſt. In a word, he left the government to a viceroy, and the vain title of emperour to a prince whom he had ſtript of his poſſeſſions. At his return to his own dominions he finiſhed his career unhappily, having been aſſaſſinated by his nephew. Such is the fate of triumphant ambition; either a tragical death or perpetual fears and cares! Perſia and Indoſtan have ever ſince been a prey to civil wars, in which the Engliſh and French, who were ſettled upon the coaſt, have intermeddled from motives of ambition. Perhaps the Indians may one day profit by their leſſons in the art of war, either to exterminate or expel them out of India.

Revolutions and civil wars.

So

The Aſiaticks pay too great a regard to antiquity.

So many revolutions, which ſtain the hiſtorick page, preſent nothing but uniform ſpectacles of ſorrow; but Aſia, and eſpecially India, furniſh more intereſting objects for rational curioſity. In that country we find manners, cuſtoms, and opinions, the origin of which is loſt in the darkneſs of ages. There too we ſee the obſtacles oppoſed to the progreſs of reaſon and induſtry by a ſlaviſh reſpect for antiquity. The Chineſe, who were aſtronomers ſeveral ages before even the Greeks had eſtabliſhed regular governments, have made almoſt no improvements ſince that time, either in the ſciences or fine arts. They think they know every thing, and they know but little; they eſteem only their own nation, their own anceſtors; and the Europeans have rapidly ſurpaſſed them in every branch, from the time that Europe has produced men of genius, who had ſufficient reſolution to overcome prejudices.

Debaſement of the Indians.

As to the Indians being ſubdued by barbarians, ſo far from making any progreſs, it was impoſſible but they muſt fall to decay. That people, on whom nature has beſtowed ſuch gentleneſs and ingenuity; that people, who were the inventors of cheſs, of cyphers, and probably of the mathematical ſciences, are reduced to the ſame ſtate with the Greeks, whoſe debaſement is ſo ſhameful. The doctrine of the metempſychoſis ſtill cheriſhes their ſentiments of humanity towards the brute creation. They preſerve ſome monuments of their ancient ſyſtem of religion, which M. Howel, an Engliſhman, and M. Anquetil, a Frenchman, have given us as authentick.

Their ancient religion.

According

According to theſe Indian books, the world was created and governed by an infinite Intelligence; a number of his moſt perfect creatures having abuſed their liberty to diſobey him, God has condemned them to live in mortal bodies; ſouls are immortal, and will be puniſhed or rewarded according to their deeds. They tell us, that the modern Bramins, the Banians, and the Gentoos, maintain the ſubſtance of this doctrine, as the Guebres, who took refuge in India, preſerve that of Zoroaſter; but what numbers of fables and extravagances have they not added?

Brachmans, Derviſes, and Fakirs.

The ancient Brachmans diſtinguiſhed themſelves by an auſterity of manners, frequently exceſſive, yet founded upon principles of virtue. From the earlieſt ages the Brachmans, the Derviſes, and Fakirs, thoſe recluſes whoſe numbers have infinitely multiplied in India, are in general mad, knaviſh fanaticks, who endeavour to paſs for ſaints, and deceive the vulgar by frightful penances. An ardent imagination, exalted by the heat of the climate, naturally plunges men's minds into the delirium of ſuperſtition; the more, as an extreme indolence gives up the ſoul to itſelf; which is the origin of ſo many inconceivable cuſtoms.

Women who burn themſelves.

Inſtances are ſtill to be ſeen of Indian women, who with an air of gaiety throw themſelves upon the burning funeral piles of their huſbands, in the hopes of a happy futurity. A people who are at the ſame time exceſſively gentle and cowardly, by the ſtrength of ſuperſtitious ideas, become ferocious, and throw away their own lives.

CONCLUSION.

CONCLUSION.

Advantages of modern Europe over Asia.

WHEN we reflect upon the misery of the Asiatick nations, though surrounded by all the blessings of nature; when we consider the little progress they have made in the improvements of genius, though their advances were so prodigious, in comparison of ours, before the commencement of the sixteenth century; above all, when we take a view of the condition of the Indians, to whom the earth almost spontaneously presents her most delicious productions, while the country is rendered nearly a desert by the scourge of despotism; when we turn our thoughts upon the extreme degeneracy into which every thing falls, in a region of the finest temperature, where even the valour of the Tartars becomes effeminate and inactive; we perceive the whole influence of the climate combined with that of moral causes; and felicitate ourselves on being born in a country where the real blessings of human nature are at the same time more solid and more abundant, because they are the tardy growth of reason, labour, and that creative industry which is roused by necessity, animated by liberty, and enables man to triumph over the obstacles of nature, or rather, in some measure, subjects nature herself to its laws.

Unhappily

How much it is in the power of governments to increaſe the happineſs of the people.

Unhappily the beneficent effects of knowledge are, in many reſpects, ſtill croſſed by the conflict of paſſions, errours, and abuſes; nor can it be queſtioned, that there is a degree of perfection unattainable by human and political ſociety. Pernicious vices will always ſpring up in it, and private intereſt conſtantly carry on a ſecret war againſt the publick weal. But if an enlightened and vigorous government undertakes to reform, I do not ſay all the abuſes, (for that is impoſſible) but at leaſt all thoſe which it is conſiſtent with prudence to eradicate; if ſimple and impartial laws, ſupported with equal firmneſs and humanity, be made the baſis of publick happineſs; if the labours which feed, and the purſuits which uſefully inſtruct the people, meet with encouragement; if the reſpect uſurped by inſolent wealth be transferred to virtue and eſtimable talents; above all, if the members of the ſtate be formed by a judicious education for the different ſtations they are to fill, inſtead of youth being waſted in a fruitleſs ſtudy of words, and diſguſted againſt uſeful knowledge, by being forced to the tireſome taſk of uſeleſs labour; we may venture to predict with confidence, that ſuch a change, if it ever takes place, will produce miracles of happineſs and glory in that part of Europe where it ſhall be put in execution.

Practical conſequences of hiſtory.

That errour, and almoſt always abſurd errour, has been the mother of bad principles, wrong inſtitutions, pernicious laws, and deſtructive ſyſtems, whence have ſprung the greateſt part of the evils that infeſt civil ſociety, is a truth which hiſtory

hiſtory demonſtrates by an endleſs number of examples. Hiſtory ought, therefore, to teach kings and ſtateſmen to correct the faults of government, and eſtabliſh the publick good upon its true foundations. It ought to teach the miniſters of religion to render it more and more reſpectable, by the cultivation of truth and virtue; and thus make it an inſtrument of happineſs to the people. It ought to teach perſons in a private ſtation, that there is no good without ſome mixture of evil; that perfection is a chimera; that what is impoſſible to be altered muſt be endured; that moderation is equally productive of wiſdom and happineſs; and laſtly, that to live happily with others, we muſt be able to live upon good terms with ourſelves; an invaluable bleſſing inſeparable from good ſenſe and virtue.

FINIS.

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